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THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

ONE gathers much insight into the character of the people in the Slave-holding States, and of the nature of the institution of Slavery, as modified thereby, from the stray observations Mr. Olmsted throws in every now and then. We will illustrate our meaning by an example or two.

NORTH CAROLINA CHARACTER.

"North Carolina has a proverbial reputation for the ignorance and torpidity of her people; being, in this respect, at the head of the Slave States. I do not find the reason of this in any innate quality of the popular mind, but rather in the circumstances under which it finds its development. Owing to the general poverty of the soil in the eastern part of the State, and to the almost exclusive employment of slave-labour on the soils productive of cotton; owing, also, to the difficulty and expense of reaching market with bulky produce from the interior and western districts, population and wealth is more divided than in the other Atlantic States; industry is almost entirely rural, and there is but little communication or concert of action among the small and scattered proprietors of capital. For the same reason, the advantages of education are more difficult to be enjoyed, the distance at which families reside apart preventing the children from coming together in such numbers as to give remunerative employment to a teacher. The teachers are, generally, totally unfitted for their business; young men, as a clergyman informed me, themselves not only unadvanced beyond the lowest knowledge of

the elements of primary school learning, but often coarse, vulgar, and profane in their language and behaviour, who take up teaching as a temporary business, to supply the demand of a neighbourhood of people as ignorant and uncultivated as themselves.

The native white population of
North Carolina is 550,267
The whole white population under
20 years, is 301,106
Leaving white adults over 20 . . 249,161
Of these there are natives who
cannot read and write 73,226*
Being more than one fourth of the native
white adults."

SLAVERY IN NORTH CAROLINA.

"But the aspect of North Carolina, with regard to Slavery, is, in some respects, less lamentable than that of Virginia. There is not only less bigotry upon the subject, and more freedom of conversation, but I saw here, in the institution, more of patriarchal character than in any other State. The slave more frequently appears as a family servant—a member of his master's family, interested with him in his fortune, good or bad. This is a result of the less concentration of wealth in families or individuals, occasioned by the circumstances I have described. Slavery thus loses much of its inhumanity. It is still questionable, however, if, as the subject race approaches civilization, the dominant race is not proportionately detained in its onward progress. One is forced often to question, too, in viewing Slavery in this

* Official Census Report, pp. 299, 309, 317.

aspect, whether humanity and the accumulation of wealth, the prosperity of the master, and the happiness and improvement of the subject, are not in some degree incompatible.

WOODING-UP.

"Soon after leaving, we passed the *Zephyr*, wooding-up; an hour later, our own boat was run to the bank, men jumped from her fore and aft, and fastened head and stern lines to the trees, and we also commenced wooding.

"The trees had been cut away so as to leave a clear space to the top of the bank, which was some fifty feet from the boat, and moderately steep. Wood, cut, split, and piled in ranks, stood at the top of it, and a shoot of plank, two feet wide and thirty long, conveyed it nearly to the water. The crew rushed to the wood piles—master, passengers, and all, but the engineer and chambermaid, deserting the boat—and the wood was first passed down, as many as could throwing into the shoot, and others forming a line, and tossing it, from one to another, down the bank. From the water's edge it was passed, in the same way, to its place on board, with great rapidity—the crew exciting themselves with yells. They were blacks but one.

"On a tree, near the top of the bank, a little box was nailed, on which a piece of paper was tacked, with this inscription:

"Notic

"to all persons takin wood from this landin
"pleas to leav a ticket payable to the subscriber,
"at dol. 1. 75 a cord as heretofore,

"Amos Sikes."

And the master, just before the wood was all on board, hastily filled a blank order (torn from a book, like a check-book, leaving a memorandum of the amount, &c.) on the owner of the boat for payment, to Mr. Sikes, for two cords of pine-wood at one dollar seventy-five cents, and two cords of light wood at two dollars, and left it in the box. The wood used had been measured in the ranks with a rod, carried for the purpose, by the master, at the moment he reached the bank.

"Before, with all possible haste, we had finished wooding, the *Zephyr* passed us; and during the rest of the day she kept out of our sight. As often as we met a steamboat, or passed any flats or rafts, our men were calling out to know how far ahead of us she was; and when the answer came back each time, in an increasing number of miles, they told us that our boat was more than usually sluggish, owing to an uncommonly heavy freight; but still, for some time, they were ready to make bets that we should get first to Wilmington.

"Several times we were hailed from the shore, to take on a passenger, or some light freight; and these requests, as long as it was possible, were promptly complied with, the boat being run up, so as to rest her bow upon the bank, and then shouldered off by the men, as if she had been a skiff.

SLAVE AND FREE-LABOUR IN THE GLUE TRADE.

"There were but three through-passengers,

besides myself. Among them was a glue manufacturer of Baltimore, getting orders from the turpentine distillers, and a turpentine farmer and distiller. The glue manufacturer said that in his factory they had formerly employed slaves, had since used Irishmen, and now employed Germans altogether. Their operations were carried on night and day, and one gang of the men had to relieve another. The slaves they had employed never would be *on hand* when the hour for relieving came. It was also necessary to be careful that certain operations should be performed at a certain time, and some judgment and watchfulness was necessary to fix this time; the slaves never could be made to care enough for the matter, to be depended upon for discretion in this respect, and great injury was done in consequence. Some of the operations were disagreeable, and they would put one another up to thinking and saying that they ought not to be required to do such dirty work, and try to have their owners get them away from it.

"Irishmen, he said, worked very well, and, to a certain extent, faithfully; and, for a time, they liked them very much; but they found that in a fortnight an Irishman always thought he knew more than his master; and would exercise his discretion a little too much, as well as often directly disregard his orders. Irishmen were, he said, 'too faithful,' that is, self-confident and officious.

"At length, at a hurried time, they employed one or two Germans. The Irishmen, of course, soon quarrelled with them, and threatened to leave if they were kept. Whereupon they were themselves discharged, and a full crew of Germans, at much less wages, taken; and they proved excellent hands—steady, plodding, reliable, though they never pretended to know any thing, and said nothing about what they could do. They were easily instructed, obeyed orders faithfully, and worked fairly for their wages, without boasting or grumbling.

"The turpentine distiller gave a good account of some of his men; but said he was sure they never performed half so much work as he himself could; and they sometimes would, of their own accord, do twice as much in a day as could usually be got out of them. He employed a Scotchman at the 'still;' but he never would have white people at ordinary work, because he couldn't drive them. He added, with the utmost simplicity—and I do not think any one present saw at the time how much the remark expressed more than it was intended to—'I never can drive a white man, for I know I could never bear to be driven myself by anybody.'

"The other passenger was 'a North-of-England man,' as I suspected from the first words I heard from him, though he had been in this country for about twenty years. He was a mechanic, and employed several slaves, but testified strongly of the expensive character of their labour, and declared, without any reserve, that the system was ruinous in its effects upon the character of all classes of working-men.

"The country on the river-bank was nearly all wooded with occasionally, a field of corn, which, even in the low alluvial meadows, sometimes overflowed by the river, and enriched by

its deposit, had evidently yielded but a very meagre crop; the stalks standing singly, at great distances, and very small. The greater part, even of these once rich lowlands, that had been in cultivation, were now 'turned out,' and covered either with pines, or broom-sedge and brushwood.

"At some seventy or eighty miles, I should think, below Fayetteville, the banks became lower, and there was much swamp land, in which the ground was often covered with a profusion of logs and sawn timber, mingled with other rubbish, left by floods of the river. The standing timber was very large, and many of the trees were hung with the long, waving drapery of the tyllindria, or Spanish moss, which, as well as the mistletoe, I here first saw in profusion. There was also a thick network among the trees of beautiful climbing plants. I observed some very large grape-vines, and many trees of greater size than I ever saw of their species before. I infer that this soil, properly reclaimed, and protected from floods of the river, might be most profitably used in the culture of the various half-tropical trees and shrubs, of whose fruits we now import so large and costly an amount. The fig, I have been informed, grows and bears luxuriantly at Wilmington, seldom or never suffering in its wood, though a crop of fruit may be occasionally injured by a severe late spring frost. The almond, doubtless, would succeed equally well, so also the olive: but of none of these is there the slightest commercial value produced in North Carolina, or in all our country.

"In the evening we passed many boats and rafts, blazing with great fires, made upon a thick bed of clay, and their crews singing at their sweeps. Twenty miles above Wilmington, the shores become marshy, the river wide, and the woody screen that had hitherto, in a great degree, hid the nakedness of the land, was withdrawn, leaving open to view only broad, reedy savannahs on either side.

"We reached Wilmington, the port at the mouth of the river, at half-past nine. Taking a carriage, I was driven first to one hotel, and afterwards to another. They were both so crowded with guests, and excessive business duties so prevented the clerks from being tolerably civil to me, that I feared if I remained in either of them I should have another Norfolk experience. While I was endeavouring to ascertain if there was a third public-house, in which I might, perhaps, obtain a private room, my eye fell upon an advertisement of a new railroad line of passage to Charleston. A boat to take passengers to the railroad was to start, every night, from Wilmington, at ten o'clock. It was already something past ten, but being pretty sure that she would not get off punctually, and having a strong resisting impulse to being packed away in a close room, with any chance stranger the clerk of the house might choose to couple me with, I shouldered my baggage, and ran for the wharves. At half-past ten I was looking at Wilmington over the stern of another little wheelbarrow steamboat, pushing back up the river. When or how I was to be taken to Charleston, I had not yet been able to ascertain. The captain assured me it was all right, and demanded twenty dollars.

Being in his power I gave it to him, and received in return a pocketful of tickets, guaranteeing the bearer passage from place to place; not one of which places had I ever heard of before, except Charleston.

"The cabin was small, dirty, close crowded and smoky. Finding a warm spot on the deck, over the furnace, and to leeward of the chimney, I pillowed myself on my luggage, and went to sleep.

"The ringing of the boat's bell awoke me, after no great lapse of time, and I found we were in a small creek, heading southward. Presently we reached a wharf, near which stood a locomotive and train. A long, narrow plank having been run out, half a dozen white men, including myself, went on shore. Then followed as many negroes, who appeared to be a recent purchase of their owner. Owing probably to an unusually low tide, there was a steep ascent from the boat to the wharf, and I was amused to see the anxiety of this gentleman for the safe landing of his property, and especially to hear him curse them for their carelessness, as if their lives were of much greater value to him than to themselves. One of them was a woman. All carried over their shoulders some little baggage, probably all their personal effects, slung in a blanket; and one had a dog, whose safe landing caused him nearly as much anxiety as his own did his owner.

"'Give me da dog, now,' said the dog's owner, standing half-way up the plank.

"'D— the dog,' said the negro's owner; 'give me your hand up here. Let go of the dog; d'ye hear? Let him take care of himself.'

"But the negro hugged the dog, and brought him safely on shore.

"After a short delay, the train started. The single passenger car was a very fine one (made at Wilmington, Delaware), and just sufficiently warmed. I should have slept again if it had not been that two of the six inmates were drunk—one of them uproariously, and the other blandly. The latter had got possessed with the idea that I was the conductor—probably because I wore a cap—and in whatever part of the car I seated myself, would, as often as once in five minutes, come to make some inquiry of me, usually first apologizing with, 'Hope I don't intrude Sir, as the immortal says.'

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

WE have much pleasure in submitting the following further information, relating to the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, from the correspondence of the *Indépendance Belge*, and other papers:

"St. Petersburg, April 21, 1858.

"No important promotions were made on the Emperor's birthday, excepting that of Prince Wassiltchikoff, who was raised to the post of Assistant Minister of War, with the charge of the Ministry during the absence of General Soukhazanett, who is obliged to leave the country on account of his health. A colleague has also been given to the new Minister of Public Instruction. Several military promotions have taken place, and a number of badges and orders have

been bestowed. The nomination of Prince Wassiltchikoff has been received with universal satisfaction. His reputation was confirmed by his bravery at Sebastopol, where he was second in command to Prince Gortchakoff, whose entire confidence he possessed.

"The following is a brief abstract of the Imperial ukase containing the measures to be adopted by the Committees of Emancipation:

"The ukase declares, in the first place, that it was agreed upon in the presence of the Emperor, in Grand Committee, the Grand Duke Constantine assisting, as usual. It then sets forth the object of the proceedings of the Committees appointed in the Governments, traces their progress, and enjoins them to conclude in six months, when the regulations will be submitted to the approval of the Emperor, to be put immediately into execution.

"The ukase, after having recognised the necessity of taking into consideration, in the regulations of the provinces, the various modifying local circumstances, states that there is need of a normal regulation which shall serve as a general basis. This normal regulation is composed of ten chapters, of which the following are the titles:

"1. Obligatory transitional condition of the peasant.

"2. Definition of this condition.

"3. Territorial rights of proprietors.

"4. Regulation concerning the inclosures of peasants.

"5. Principles to follow in the bestowal of lands on peasants.

"6. Rents of the peasants.

"7. Rights and duties of the *dvorovoï* (old servants and their families, who live in the master's house without any specified service).

"8. Constitution of the new communities.

"9. The rights of proprietors, and the connection of these with their peasants.

"10. Manner and means of enforcing this regulation.

"Each of these Articles is then separately explained. We can draw from them the general idea that serfdom is for ever abolished in Russia, and can never again be established there under any form whatever. The condition of the peasants, when the regulations are once confirmed, will be on a par with that of the other classes of citizens.

"The name of seigneurial peasants will be changed to peasants by contract, that is, they will treat freely, and at their own pleasure, with the proprietors concerning the conditions of their work. But until the confirmation of definite regulations, they must be made to understand that they must be submissive, and cannot leave the land. Then the ukase orders a regulation to be prepared, according to which the peasants can change their condition so as to enter, for instance, into the class of citizens. Next the duration—and it must in every case be short of this transition state preceding their trial emancipation—is to be determined.

"And, finally, the Imperial ukase peremptorily commands that there be inserted in the new regulations a clause compelling the proprietors to cede to their serfs the inclosures which they

occupy, together with their houses, beside a certain quantity of cultivable land, greater or smaller according to circumstances.

Correspondence of the "Vienna Wanderer."

"Russian Frontier, April 30, 1858.

"It is estimated that, in 1851, there were 22,000,000 serfs, exclusive of those belonging to the Crown, in the 68,000,000 inhabitants of Russia. The distribution of the serfs in the different governments is as follows:

"Kiev, 511,554; Podolia, 472,553; Tula, 403,649; Riazan, 391,419; Smolensk, 378,038; Orel, 374,631; Tver, 362,277; Tambov, 362,142; Volhynia, 362,092; Koorsk, 359,968; Nishni Novgorod, 341,191; Vladimir, 329,765; Poltava, 325,753; Saratov, 322,098; Kalooga, 307,746; Moscow, 306,803; Kostroma, 295,143; Minsk, 288,355; Mohilev, 286,275; Tchernigov, 281,844; Penza, 264,967; Perm, 256,581; Voronezh, 243,560; Kharkov, 223,140; Witebsk, 216,752; Simbirsk, 212,889; Novgorod, 198,491; Pskov, 186,985; Yekaterinoslav, 157,307; Kherson, 151,670; in the district of the Don Cossacks, 127,947; Samara, 103,251; Kazan, 99,588; Orenburg, 65,561; Taurida, 20,677; Viatka, 16,186; Stavropol, 8,131; Astrakhan, 6,211; Wilna, 197,863; Grodno, 198,118; Kovno, 171,318; and St. Petersburg, 125,413.

"Very few of these belong to the Governments situated outside of Europe, as, for instance, in Kutaïsk, where there is only one serf.

Correspondence of the "Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung."

"St. Petersburg, May 1.

"In the last number of the journal of the Minister of the Interior, there is mention made of the commencement of proceedings in several Governments by the Committees appointed to arrange the emancipation of the serfs. St. Petersburg made the beginning Jan. 26; Wilna and Nishni Novgorod followed on the day of the inauguration; and Grodno and Kovno on the 10th and 18th of March. The discussion of the details was immediately commenced, but nothing is yet published concerning it. Nasimoff, Governor-General of Wilna, Grodno, and Kovno, arrived here a few days since. But few promotions are announced for the Emperor's birthday. Controller Adjutant-General Annenkoff is made General of Infantry. Lieutenant-General Prince Wassiltchikoff, formerly Chief Chancellor of the War Department, is created Assistant Minister of War, and is replaced by Major-General Tichactheff. Muravieff, Minister of the Domains, has received the Order of Vladimir. The construction of the Moscow and Saratow road, which connects at this latter place with the Lower Volga, seems to be seriously contemplated. State-Councillor Doring and Mr. Haine, a Russian and Belgian engineer, left last month for Saratow. The measures that, since the official career of Count Schuvaloff, have been adopted against master-workmen who neglect their apprentices are attended with the best results. The apprentices, have sometimes left the shops in a body and carried their complaints to the police office; and if found to be well grounded, the employers have been punished by fines, censure, and exposure.

Correspondence of the "Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung."

"Polish Frontier, May 6, 1858.

"The intelligence received to-day from Warsaw at length clears away the obscurity which has enveloped the viceroyalty question. Prince Gortchakoff has actually received an indefinite furlough, and will shortly leave Poland, to make a protracted foreign tour—to Italy it is said. If that is in Russian parlance equivalent to retiring permanently from public service, no definite successor could be immediately named, but a substitute must be appointed for the time being. This has already been done, and the choice has fallen on the Governor-General of the Baltic Provinces, Prince Suworoff Rimnizkoi, who immediately removed to Warsaw. The Poles have flattered themselves with the hope that an Imperial Grand Duke would replace Gortchakoff, but this could only take place in case the latter had resigned. It is thought by some, however, that Suwaroff only holds the viceroyalty temporarily, and that Gortchakoff will yet resign his office entirely, and a Grand Duke will then be installed in his place. The army, which will be reviewed by the Emperor at Warsaw in August, will be commanded by Generals Labinzoff, Ofrozimoff, and Wrangel, who in their turn, will be commanded by Panintin, Governor-General of Warsaw *pro tem*. It is yet uncertain whether the Emperor will make a foreign tour from Warsaw. It is impossible not to notice the pique that exists between Russia and Austria. Hitherto the conduct of Austria, in the dispute between the Porte and her dependencies, has been assigned as the cause; and now is added the manner in which Austria is seeking to settle the matter of the navigation of the Danube for her own benefit, and to the injury of Russia. The St. Petersburg Cabinet has at length discovered that the abolishment of serfdom, and the intended reorganization of the relations of the peasantry, cannot be effected by the regulations hitherto employed, since the different committees of nobles have brought forth the most different and irreconcilable plans and propositions. A Central Committee has accordingly been appointed, which will form a definite plan to hold good over the entire empire. The principles on which it is to be formed have already been announced.

From the "Correspondence Havas."

"St. Petersburg, May 3, 1858.

"It cannot be denied that a certain agitation pervades all classes of society; and, in fact, the reforms that are on foot touch every body more or less. These reforms naturally meet with occasional opposition, but the Emperor does not permit himself to be turned from his end, and, moreover, he finds a powerful aid, not only in public opinion, but also in some of his advisers.

"The Grand Duke Constantine, particularly, proves, by the numerous improvements he introduces in the navy, that he is a friend to all reforms. He has recently given still another proof of this in sending a diamond ring to M. Lenow, author of the comedy *There are still Good People in the World*, in which the corruption of public officers is sharply handled, and which has produced a great sensation.

"The Emperor has authorized the construction of a stationary bridge across the Vistula. Its cost is estimated at two million roubles.

"The Governor-General of Wilna, Kovno, and Grodno, has arrived here, to announce to the Government the proceedings of the Committee of Nobles, and to give the details concerning the troubles of Tawrozzen. These troubles have been much exaggerated.

Correspondence of the "Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung."

"St. Petersburg, May 7, 1858.

"The Supreme Committee on Serfdom has now given the first signs of life, and they are so decided that nobody who does not wilfully shut his eyes can longer doubt their meaning. From the time when the attempts of Nasimoff to ameliorate the condition of the serfs, in his three Lithuanian governments, was not only justified by the Emperor, but set up as an example, the eagerness of the nobility to make their sacrifice on the altar of their country was to be taken *cum grano salis*; and although it has never yet been said in so many words that this sacrifice was not spontaneous, still the resolutions of the Central Committee now published are such as to have the same result. To prevent misunderstanding, it must be said that the nobility have considerable, if not unlimited, means of lessening this sacrifice; but all hesitation, delay or elusion is out of the question. In each Government there is a number of the nobility who purpose emancipation. Whether they be few or many, the Committee is constituted so that it must, within two months, finish its plans, which may be altered only in details, not in the main point, the abolition of personal servitude, and as soon as these plans shall have been approved they will be binding upon all proprietors. The programme of the Supreme Committee, which has this matter in charge, has the following title: 'Programme for the business of the Government Committee of Nobles for the Amelioration of the Condition of the real (attached to real estate) Peasants,' and the principal divisions of the programme are as follows:

"1. The preparation of drafts for laws for the emancipation of the serfs.

"2. After the sanction of the laws, their actual execution.

"3. A project for a new primary division of the country into parishes.

"For the present we have only to do with the first of these periods, which is already far advanced. As soon as the appointments to the Committee are complete, they will have to get together the necessary information in relation to the Government domains. Blanks, prepared under the supervision of the Committee, have been sent out to all the domains: there are sixteen blanks to be filled for each, including the number of souls, the form of their servitude, the relation between the number of serfs and lands on which they are located, the value of the peasants' dwellings and lands, their occupation, their educational condition, liens on the domains, arrears of taxes, &c.

"All these statistics will be gathered in each district, and delivered to the Committee of the Government, which is now commencing its work

of preparing the Statute of Emancipation, the order of which is prescribed as to chapters and paragraphs. This statute, which is to receive its form from an editing commission, contains only the law, without the motives, which will afterwards be given in separate documents. All these labours must be completed within six months, when the project and the law goes to the Minister of the Interior, and the Committee will be adjourned, to reassemble when the Imperial sanction has been given. Then begins a new labour, in which the members of the Committee have first to authenticate the arrangements of each proprietor with his serfs on the basis of the law, then to judge and sanction them, and, through district assemblies, go before the proprietors, any of whom have the right to appear in person to prove any arrangement decided on by him.

"The third period, the plan for a new division of the country into parishes, which should precisely define all the relations of the peasants, stands of course still further in the future.

Correspondence of the "Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung."

"Posen, May 7, 1858.

The *Posener Zeitung* of May 7 contains the following: 'Although the necessity of an amelioration of the condition of the serfs has long been felt in Russia, still it has always been supposed that such a measure must be carried into effect with great decision, since there was to be feared, on the one hand, the opposition of the powerful nobility, and, on the other, the tumult of the suddenly freed peasantry. The Emperor Nicholas commenced the work with great decision. He made several laws, by which the power of the landed proprietors over the peasantry was considerably reduced. He forbade the sale of serfs, except with the land to which they belonged; then he deprived the proprietor of the right to send his serf to Siberia without a judicial decision; then he sanctioned marriages between serfs of the same domain. In many instances, by neglect of these prescribed forms of sale, the serfs acquired their freedom. All these laws but partially carried out his intentions. In 1848, for the first time, was an inventory census ordered to be taken, by which the proportions of proprietors and serfs were precisely ascertained, though only in the westerly Governments, Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia, and Kêev. In these three last Governments the nobility thought that they were threatened by this census, and they dared to protest; in Lithuania, on the contrary, the measure found little favour, complete emancipation being desired. But nothing effective resulted. For the first time the regulation of serf relations was commenced in the memorable ukase of the 29th of January. If the present Emperor has allowed the nobility to take the indicative, it is only as slight compensation for the loss of such considerable rights. In the endeavour to avoid the dangers which might result from immediate emancipation, another almost equally great was incurred. The serfs are now especially impatient, and they see in the ukase of the Emperor, which relieves them from a hated yoke, an indulgence for un-

limited license. That they do not receive complete freedom immediately they attribute to an understanding between the police and the proprietors, and the priests strengthen their own power by confirming them in this belief. So there have been several serf insurrections, requiring to be put down by force; and altogether a social storm threatens Russia if the emancipation is not speedily carried into effect. Hence the Emperor's latest order.

"The orthodox propaganda is continually gaining ground, as the tendencies of the Ruthenia in Galicia shews.

"In Cracow, says the *Czas*, there is a great discontent at the raising of the taxes on articles of consumption, already so high as greatly to straiten the poorer classes. That paper grumbles also that the present order was not published in Polish and German, but only in German.

"The *National Zeitung* says: 'For the present, the Emperor, in his tireless care for the development of his people, has resolved:

"1. That in the nineteen principal cities of the Governments of Great Russia, the four of Little Russia, the four of the Baltic Provinces, the five of Kesan, the five of Astrachan, the five in South Russia, the eight in Westphalia, in Finland and Siberia, the five of Poland, and also in other considerable cities, where hitherto there has been no theatre, one shall be erected, and an opera represented either by native or foreign singers. Art Institutes will be subsidized. Each government must supply the means, made out by the National Treasury, if necessary.

"2. That high schools be established for the use of all classes, in each government and principal city.' There is, besides, talk of a conservatory and a dramatic school, to train actors for the national boards.

Correspondence of the 'Indépendance Belge.'

St. Petersburg, May 8, 1858.

"The Emperor will leave St. Petersburg on the 12th of June, for Moscow, by railroad. It is easy to imagine the good effect which the presence of His Majesty cannot fail to produce in the old capital of the Czars upon the labours of the Emancipation Commissioners. I have said his appearance, because he cannot remain there, as he will be in haste to continue his journey. From Moscow he will go, by Garoslaw and Vologda, to Archangel. There he will embark on the *Thunderer*, a steamer of the Imperial marine, to visit the Solovetsky Monastery, seventy-five miles distant on Solovetsky Island, the largest on the White Sea. On his return from Archangel, he will find, at the little city Vitegra, on the Vitegra River, a small steamer, which will take him to Petrozavodsk, a place where there is a cannon-foundry, established by Peter the Great. This foundry turns out 500 pieces annually, and during the late war this number was increased to 800.

"When these foundries were built, Russia was poor in iron. Peter the Great extracted it from the argillaceous mud of the marshes, which surround the place, and, strange to say, in from twenty-five to thirty years, iron can be found again in the spot from which it has been taken.

"The Emperor will then return to Vitegra by

boat, and, taking the land route, re-enter the capital on the 27th of June, having travelled 2500 (?) miles in fifteen days! Really such rapidity of travel is possible only in Russia, and there only to the Emperor.

From the "Correspondence Havas."

"St. Petersburg, May 8, 1858.

"The importance of the general order with regard to the emancipation of the serfs is not at all diminished by the fact that it is signed by Prince Orloff, and not by the Emperor himself. Although the Emperor presides over the Central Commission on Emancipation, his signature at the bottom of this act would have made it a law, and not an order. Moreover, Prince Constantine signed next to Orloff.

"Important modifications are required in prison management. An agent of the Minister of Justice is now travelling to study foreign prisons, and to procure the translation of foreign books on this subject.

From the "Gazette des Postes."

"Besides the railroads, projected and in course of construction, we are assured that Russia is about to establish a great communicating route between the Baltic and Black Seas. Two plans are before the Government; one to open a communication between the Upper Vistula and the Dnieper, and the other between the Vistula and the Dniester. The former would connect Dantzic directly with Kherson, the latter with Odessa. The long track through the heart of Russia is advanced in favour of the former, and the greater importance of Odessa in favour of the latter.

RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

THE controversy which has been raised by the articles in the *Times*, on the subject of the results of emancipation, imparts additional value to the communication we append, which has been addressed by His Excellency Governor Hincks, of Barbados, to Mr. Charles Tappan, of New York, giving the result of his observation and experience of the labouring population of our West-India Colonies. We leave the letter to speak for itself.

BARBADOS.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I willingly comply with your request that I should communicate to you the opinions I have formed as to the results of the abolition of Slavery in the British West Indies, as well in their bearing on the civilization of the emancipated classes, as on the general prosperity of the colonies. I do this the more readily, because, being thoroughly persuaded that most erroneous opinions on this most important subject prevail generally both in Europe and America, I think that every possible assistance should be given to those who take the trouble to inquire into the actual condition of these colonies.

"The errors to which I shall more especially advert are, first, the assertion that slave labour is cheaper than free; second, the charge of habitual indolence advanced against the Creoles of African descent, which has led, it is alleged,

to the abandonment of the sugar estates and the consequent ruin of the proprietors.

"On the first point, viz. the comparative cost of free and slave labour, I believe that little if any difference of opinion prevails among the proprietors of this island. It is, however, much to be regretted that the West-India planters have more than once since the period of emancipation made formal complaints to the Imperial Parliament, founded on their inability to compete in the production of sugar by free labour, with the slave labour of foreign countries.

"The object of the complainants, doubtless, was to obtain a continuance of the protective duties then levied upon foreign sugars. I can, however, state with confidence, that many who at one time held the opinion that the increased production of sugar in Cuba was to be attributed to the cheapness of slave labour, have long since discovered their error. For my own part, I entertain no doubt that the productiveness of Cuba is to be mainly attributed to its rich virgin soil, on which ratooning can be carried on for many years with little labour. Land in that island is abundant and cheap, and labour is in great demand for clearing and preparing it for cultivation. It must be borne in mind that field labour is but one item among many in the cost of producing sugar. Other items, such as the maintenance of stock, lumber, manures, expenses of management, skilled workmen, casks, &c., must all be taken into account, and will be found to cost even more than the labour. But the most important item, perhaps, is the interest on invested capital. The expenses of a Barbados estate capable of making two hundred hogsheads of sugar, on an average, may be stated as follows:—

	sterling.
"Labour (in the field and boiling house, £1200	
"Other items mentioned above	1500
"Interest on capital, 8 per cent. on	
30,000l. sterling	2400
	£5100

"The foregoing is a very full (I think an exaggerated) estimate of the cost of labour and other expenses, but the interest is not excessive. Money so invested ought to yield eight per cent., and the price estimated, 30,000l., for an estate capable of yielding two hundred hogsheads, is below that at which late sales have been made. The estimate of labour and other expenses is based upon one furnished by two agricultural societies in this island, some years ago; but I shall have occasion, before I close this letter, to furnish you with the actual cost of labour on a well managed estate, which shews it to be only 4l. per hogshead. The other expenses ought, I think, to be reduced to twenty per cent. It is desirable that you should clearly understand the proportion which field labour bears to the total cost of a hogshead of sugar. I have made many inquiries as to the relative cost of production in other colonies in this government, which comprises Barbados, St. Vincent, Grenada, St. Lucia, and Tobago. The rate of wages is about the same in all, except Tobago, where it is rather less. It varies from tenpence to one shilling for men, sevenpence-halfpenny to tenpence for women,

and sixpence for children. Task work prevails generally in this island. The wages are not higher in any of the leeward islands, and in some of them they are lower. In British Guiana and Trinidad wages are considerably higher than in the other colonies, and the demand for labour is increasing. I do not believe that in any of the other colonies estates are worth any thing like what they are in Barbados, and consequently they could all afford to give a much higher rate of wages. In Trinidad, as in Cuba, uncultivated land can be obtained from Government at a very moderate price. The value of the products of a sugar estate, the expense of which I have stated above, may be estimated as follows: Two hundred hogsheads of sugar, averaging fifteen hundred weight net in England, at 25*l.*, 5000*l.*; rum, molasses, and provisions, 850*l.*; total, 5850*l.* sterling. You will perceive that wages might be considerably increased at present prices, without real estate experiencing any material decline. Such is the result of the cultivation of sugar by free labour.

Property, I need scarcely observe, has advanced in this island much beyond its value in the time of Slavery. But what I desire to impress chiefly upon you is, that where rich land, adapted to sugar cultivation, can be obtained cheap, as in Trinidad and Cuba, the price of labour is of secondary importance. Every effort will be used to obtain labour at any price, and with equal facilities for getting to market, the old plantations could no more compete with the new ones, than your lands in New England with the rich virgin soils of the Mississippi Valley.

"I have but little means of comparing the present cost of slave and free labour. I have no doubt, however, from what I have heard, that the slaves in Cuba are worked much harder than they were in the British West Indies, or than they now are in the United States. The fairest test, perhaps, of the comparative cost of slave and free labour, is to compare the wages paid to the free labourer with the rate demanded by those who let out slaves to hire. The owners of slaves in Cuba are in the habit of hiring them in gangs, and I understand that the rate some years ago, when sugar was much lower in price, was 17 dollars per month, which, allowing twenty-six working days, would be sixty-five cents per day, a rate far exceeding the price of free labour in any of the British colonies. I am not certain whether the food is provided by the owner, or by the persons hiring the slaves. On these points I shall have further information ere long, but as you intend to visit Havana, you will be able to make inquiries on the spot.

"As to the relative cost of slave and free labour in this colony, I can supply you with facts, in which the most implicit reliance may be placed. They have been furnished to me by the proprietor of an estate containing three hundred acres of land, and situated at a distance of about twelve miles from the shipping port. The estate referred to produced during Slavery equal, on an average, to one hundred and forty hogsheads of sugar of the present weight, and required two hundred and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free labourers, sixty adults, and thirty under sixteen years of age. Its ave-

rage product during the last seven years has been one hundred and ninety-four hogsheads. The total cost of labour has been 770*l.* 16*s.*, or 3*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* per hogshead of seventeen hundred pounds. The average of pounds of sugar to each labourer during slavery was 1043 lbs, and during freedom 366 lbs. To estimate the cost of slave labour, the value of two hundred and thirty slaves must be ascertained; and I place them at what would have been a low average, 50*l.* sterling each, which would make the entire stock amount to 11,500*l.* This, at six per cent. interest, which on such property is much too low an estimate, would give 690*l.*; cost of clothing, food, and medical attendance, I estimate at 3*l.* 10*s.*, making 805*l.*; total cost, 1495*l.*, or 10*l.* 12*s.* per hogshead, while the cost of free labour on the same estate is under 4*l.* The cost of maintenance of slaves is a point on which I have not been able to get any reliable information. The highest estimate I have had is 8*l.*; the lowest, 3*l.* It is a point of no importance now as far as these colonies are concerned, but in comparing the cost of free labour with slave labour in the present day, it is desirable to be accurate. I have been told that the average cost in Cuba is 30 dollars per annum; and if so, there can be no doubt that this, added to the interest on the value of the slaves, would bring up the cost of labour to a much higher price than that given for free labour in any of the British colonies. I need scarcely remind you that the cost per head of slaves must be calculated on the entire population, men, women, and children, a considerable per-centage of which will furnish no labour in return.

"It may interest you to know the comparative value of property in this island during slavery and freedom. The estate just referred to, containing 300 acres of land, was worth during slavery 50*l.* per acre, or 15,000*l.*; and I have estimated the slaves round at 50*l.* each, which would be 11,500*l.* I am not aware what the compensation money amounted to per head in Barbados; but, I have no doubt, to 30*l.* at least. After the award of compensation for the slaves, the estate was sold during the apprenticeship for 15,000*l.*, and was purchased a few years ago by the present proprietor for 30,000*l.*, which price I have no doubt he could obtain for it at any moment. It is proper that I should add, that I have taken the estate, regarding which I have furnished you with the foregoing particulars, as furnishing a fair illustration of the comparative productiveness and cost of cultivation during slavery and freedom. I could multiply instances in which there have been similar results.

"I shall now proceed to the consideration of the complaint against the Creoles of African descent that they are indolent, and that they have abandoned the sugar plantations. This is a subject involved in much greater difficulty than the one on which I have already treated. I admit that the planters generally in several of the British colonies would vehemently maintain the correctness of this charge. I am, however, bound to affirm that, after a most patient investigation, I have been unable to arrive at such a conclusion. There is no doubt that the condition of the labouring classes ought to be worse

in Barbados than in any of the other colonies. In Barbados, land is exorbitantly dear, being worth, in small quantities, from 400 dollars to 600 dollars per acre. Wages are from tenpence to one shilling per day, as I have already stated. There are only five working days in the week, except during crop time. With all these disadvantages, the small proprietors in this island, holding less than five acres of land, increased in sixteen years from about 1100 to 3537. I doubt much whether such a proof of industrious habits could be furnished with regard to a similar class of labourers in any other country in the world. I adduce the above remarkable fact to prove that in this island there has been no want of industry on the part of the Creoles of African descent. I think that in those colonies in which the sugar estates have been partially abandoned, we must look to other causes than the indolence of the labourers. In all those colonies land is abundant, and comparatively cheap, and I need not remind any one acquainted with the settlement of land in America, whether in the United States or the British Provinces, that where land is cheap and abundant labour will be dear and scarce. The poor Irish immigrant pursues exactly the same course in Canada which the Creole of African descent does in Guiana or Trinidad. He endeavours to get land of his own, and to become a proprietor instead of a labourer.

Unfortunately, the planters have never adopted a policy calculated to retain the Creoles on their plantations. Such, at least, is my opinion. A West-Indian planter follows two occupations; he is an extensive agriculturist, and likewise a manufacturer. In these capacities he requires a considerable capital to enable him to succeed. I believe that the most profitable employment for labour in the West Indies is the cultivation of the sugar cane, especially if prices any thing like the present should be maintained. What, then, have been the inducements held out to the labourers to work upon the sugar plantations? In Barbados, I have explained already that wages have ranged from tenpence to one shilling per task, and that rate prevails generally, with the exception of Guiana and Trinidad. In addition to these wages, a small allotment of land is usually given, but a most uncertain tenure. The labourer may be ejected at any time on a few days' notice, and he is subjected to penalties for not working on the estate. I am fully convinced that the abandonment of the estates is owing more to the tenure on which alone the planters would lease land, than to any other cause. It would have been a wise policy for a proprietor to have given leases of small allotments in perpetuity, redeemable by the full payment of the capital. It would have been the common interest of the labourer and proprietor that such land should be cultivated in canes, which the tenant would necessarily have to bring to the mill of the proprietor, and this would have tended to keep up a good understanding. Liberal wages would have induced such tenants to labour on the estates, which they could easily have done without interfering with their own cultivation. The rate of wages should be regulated by the price of sugar. If the labourers found that when high prices prevailed, their wages were increased

in proportion, they would willingly submit to reduction during a period of low prices. The experience in some colonies, I regret to say, has been that wages have been reduced when the price of sugar has been low, but there has been no disposition to increase them in times of prosperity. It seems almost incomprehensible that labour should be diverted to so great an extent in the British colonies to the raising of provisions for which there is but a limited market, when it could be so much more profitably employed in the cultivation of the cane. The cause, however, can only be assigned to the insufficiency of the inducements held out to the labouring classes. My belief is, that whenever sufficient inducements are offered, labour can be obtained. I am not, however, of opinion that high wages constitute the best kind of inducement. On the contrary, looking to the nature of the demand for labour, which, during the reaping and manufacture of the crop, is much greater than at any other time, I think that the true policy would be to encourage the industrious classes to combine labour on their own account with labour for the proprietors. The encouragement, which I believe would be sufficient, would be the concession of small allotments of land at fair rents, but on such a tenure as would render the labourer independent. It may be said, that, if so situated, he would refuse to work for hire. But if, as I contend, the most valuable agricultural product is the sugar cane, the proprietor would be able to hold out a sufficient inducement to his tenants to labour, by furnishing them with facilities for the manufacture of their crop; and even viewing the case in the worst point of view for the proprietor, he would get an ample rent for his land. I ascribe the indolence of the Creole labourers, in a great degree, to the nature of their pursuits. They have not been enabled to raise on their own account any product for which there is any export demand. They have chiefly been engaged in the raising of provisions, for which there is only a local sale, and as increased production would cause a decline in price, there is no inducement to industry.

"I cannot help thinking that the capitalists and labourers would have long since come to a satisfactory understanding, as to the terms on which the cultivation of the cane should be carried on, but for the facilities afforded to the former of obtaining labour by immigration from other countries. The effect of the immigration has been to render the proprietor to-day more independent of Creole labour and less willing to offer the necessary inducements. There is at present a very active demand for labour, owing to the high prices of sugar, which have recently prevailed, and in several of the colonies, particularly British Guiana and Trinidad, it would, I presume, be impossible to supply it from the native population. Believing, as I have reason to do, that there is no probability of any extensive immigration from Africa to the West Indies, and that for many reasons, Coolie immigration should be avoided, if possible, my earnest desire would be that some satisfactory arrangement should be made by which free negroes from the United States and Canada could be induced to settle in the West Indies. It is, however, vain

for the planters to look for immigration from America, unless they offer much greater inducements than they have ever yet done. Cheap land on a satisfactory tenure, combined with fair wages, would, I am inclined to think, operate as an encouragement to the free negroes of America to emigrate, as they would find the climate much more suitable to them than the Northern States, or Canada. The rate of wages ought to be 1s. 6d. per task; and I may observe, that an ordinary task can be finished with ease by an able-bodied man by noon; so that the rate of wages is really higher in the West Indies than would be supposed from its nominal rate. But it should be rigidly insisted on, as a condition to any system of immigration, that land, from one-half an acre to two acres, according to the number in a family, should be leased in perpetuity at a rent equal to six per cent. on the value, and that the tenant should have the option of becoming the purchaser by paying up the capital. I am unaware of the value of land in Guiana, but in any of the other colonies, 25l. per acre for land within half a mile of the sugar works would be a high rate. In some colonies, it should be less. Whether such inducements would be sufficient to direct the emigration of the free negroes from the United States to the West Indies I am unable to say, but less, I am convinced, need not be offered. The preceding remarks apply chiefly to those points affecting the interests of the planters.

"In this island, there can be no doubt whatever that emancipation has been a great boon to all classes. Real estate has increased in price, and is a more certain and advantageous investment than in the time of Slavery; the estates are much better and more economically cultivated, and the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly contented. In other colonies, the proprietors have suffered from a variety of causes. It would be unjust to blame them for not having adopted a wiser policy toward the labouring classes. They, as a general rule, meant to act liberally, and, I have no doubt, believe that they have been treated with ingratitude. I am, nevertheless, convinced that the labouring classes have been blamed without cause. The tenure of land (a tenancy at will) on the estates has driven the labourers from them; they have purchased or leased land elsewhere, it being cheap and abundant, and there has not been an adequate inducement in the form of wages offered to them by the estates. The majority of the proprietors were overwhelmed with debt at the period of emancipation, the value of property had been much too high, and these causes, combined with the reduction of the price of sugar, have produced much individual distress. It has been a most serious evil, too, that so many West-Indian proprietors have been non-residents. The evil, however, will cure itself in time. Property has been changing hands of late, and eventually I have no doubt that the proprietors generally will live on their own estates, and save the heavy expense of management.

"With regard to the condition of the African race, I can answer your queries with unmixed satisfaction, and with the conviction that there will be little if any difference of opinion among

well-informed persons on that subject. The improvement which has taken place in the religious condition of the people of all classes, and the progress of education, are quite equal to what could reasonably have been expected. The Creoles are advancing rapidly in civilization. You have yourself made the acquaintance of men who were formerly slaves, and who are now in independent circumstances, and enjoying a large share of public respect. But the very causes which have led to the great prosperity of the planters of Barbados have been to a considerable extent unfavourable to the labouring classes. If any of that class in the British West Indies had cause to complain, it would be in this island; and it may be observed, that they can emigrate in a very few hours, and at very little expense, to colonies where land is both abundant and cheap, and where higher wages prevail.

"I shall now proceed to notice a few points referred to in your printed queries, which I have not had occasion to touch on. It is impossible to compare the present statistics of crime with those during Slavery, when the great bulk of our ordinary offences, petty thefts and assaults, were summarily punished by the managers and overseers of estates. You have had an opportunity of satisfying yourself that the offences on this island are not of an aggravated character. That there is much greater security for person and property now than there was during Slavery, does not admit of a doubt.

"In Barbados, there is a complete separation between rent and wages, which is clearly the wisest policy; but I fear that this island is an exception to the colonies generally. Elsewhere, as I have already explained, it was deemed expedient to leave small allotments from one-half an acre to one or even two acres on sufferance, no rent being charged, if continuous labour were given. Rent was made a sort of fine for not labouring, and, in case of dispute, summary ejectment followed, the labourer having to remove his house and crops, or sell them at great disadvantage. This wretched system, I firmly believe, has led to the abandonment of the estates in those colonies where land could be obtained on a different tenure, and, generally speaking, there is no difficulty in procuring it. In all colonies, the labourers have abundant time to cultivate their own grounds; indeed, there is no such thing as hard work performed by any class of the population, from the highest to the lowest.

"There are no taxes peculiarly affecting the labourers. The elective franchise is generally high, but there are no class distinctions. The prejudices about colour are, I think, fast dying away. Strangers are apt to exaggerate the social distinctions, and to attribute the prejudices regarding race, or colour, what proceeds from entirely different causes. The classes of society are more marked in the West Indies than they are in America.

"As in England, there have been in the West Indies a wealthy class of landed proprietors, on which the masses, who are mere labourers, depend for employment. There is also, as in England, a middle class, consisting of the smaller proprietors, traders and mechanics. This last

named class in Barbados is intelligent and active, and is striving to attain political power and advancement. You will find that the higher class in Barbados is generally white, the middling class coloured, and the labouring black. There are, of course, exceptions to this remark. There are very poor whites, and wealthy men of colour, and of unmixed African descent, and many of all shades in the middle class. In some of the other colonies, the higher class has almost disappeared, owing to absenteeism and other causes, and you will therefore find more persons of colour in a higher social position in those colonies than in Barbados.

"The opinions which I have expressed in this letter have been formed after patient and impartial inquiry, and are sincerely held. I am bound, however, to add, that few of the planters would admit that I have assigned correct reasons for the abandonment of the estates by the labourers. I wish very much that the experiment could be tried of cultivating an estate in accordance with the principles which I have laid down.

"Meanwhile, it is sufficient for me further to observe, that it is generally admitted that the negro understands his own interest, and if, as all agree, the most profitable cultivation in these islands is that of the sugar cane, it must follow that the Creole would pursue that branch of industry, if sufficient inducements were held out to him. I maintain, that wherever those inducements are offered, he invariably does labour at cane cultivation.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Yours, very truly,

"FRANCIS HINCKS.

"CHARLES TAPPAN, Esq."

The question is of so much importance at this moment, that any respectable testimony is acceptable which throws light upon it. Nor is it to be wondered at, under existing circumstances, when such strenuous attempts are being made to vilify the labouring population of our colonies, that those who are interested in their welfare, and who have opportunities of judging of the progress which they have made, should take every opportunity of vindicating their right to be judged fairly; and no class of persons has a greater claim to be heard than the Missionaries who are resident in the colonies. In addition to the evidence we have already published, we now present the testimony of a resident in Jamaica, preceded by a few remarks from the Editor of the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, June 25th.

JAMAICA.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE, AND RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

"The writer of the following communication, who is a Missionary of the Society, looks at the questions above named from another point of view than some persons who discuss them in public journals; and his independent and disinterested opinions are well worthy the attention of all who desire to form a correct judgment on

these much-disputed but most important matters. Missionaries have it often in their power to supply information which is not accessible to other writers; and they have the further advantage of being unbiassed by those habits, associations, and tastes which too frequently influence the judgment of secular persons.

"No doubt but you feel interested in the controversy, recently inspired with new life, concerning the emancipated labourers of the West Indies, and those colonies themselves. It might be difficult for those at a distance to arrive at any thing like a just conclusion upon the matter; and it cannot be uninteresting to them to know what are the convictions of unprejudiced persons who reside upon the spot. At least, some conversation having transpired upon the subject in our District Meeting, it was thought advisable that, whatever else might be done by us, it would be well for us to communicate our thoughts upon the matter to you.

"Premising that it is somewhat difficult to arrive at the truth in such matters, in the absence of full and accurate statistics, I may be permitted to give my opinions as to the social state of the people, the state of population, and the supply of labour; my statements having reference principally to this part of the country.

"It has been represented by some, that the social state of the people of this country borders upon savagism; that they have not improved, but retrograded, since emancipation; that they are idle and vicious, and incapable of improvement and progress. Now I should like persons who are likely to be duped and distressed by such representations to come and see for themselves. Not doubt but that there is much in the social and moral state of the people that is to be deeply deplored, and probably some districts are much worse than others. But in this parish (St. Ann's,) and in this part of the parish, there are everywhere to be seen pleasing signs of social progress. True it is, that very many are living in concubinage, and that a large proportion of the young people have illegitimate offspring; for those who do get married have generally gone wrong first. But a case occurred last year at Green Hill, in which a young woman engaged to be married, being requested by the young man to go and live with him before marriage, refused; and he, thereafter, casting her off, she went deranged, and is still, though something better, in a very distressing state. She is a black girl of eighteen years or so, and is a member of our Tabernacle Society. And how many more cases of equally invulnerable virtue there are in the same class, who can tell? for it is not every such one who becomes maniac, and vice generally makes a greater noise than virtue. There are other vices too—such as lying and pilfering, relics of Slavery—which are but too general. But, in spite of these, the number of respectable cottages built, or being built, with strong solid mason's-work foundations, some with lower and upper stories, the upper work being framework, with Spanish wall (about six inches thick), plastered inside and out, shingled, with three or four rooms, not destitute either, in many instances, of good, useful, and sometimes orna-

mental furniture, are sufficient to prove a very encouraging progress in social amelioration. Then there are generally small barbies attached for drying their coffee and pimento, and not unfrequently a tank or cistern. All, too, have a few acres of land of their own, or else farm for the growing of their provisions. Not a few, in this locality, are devoted altogether to the cultivation, on their own account, of corn (maize), yam, and other ground provisions, plantain, sugar, and coffee, for the surrounding markets, or for shipment to England. Almost every man has his horse, and some there are who keep several mules and a cart or dray, and who perform the carrying work of the district at regular charges. A case occurred last year of a man, one of the labouring people, having 100*l.* stolen out of his chest, and yet he had another 100*l.* ready to deposit with a tradesman for the building of a house which is now nearly finished. There are few who have got thus far; but altogether there can be no question that the people are, as a whole, in this respect making encouraging progress.

Then, as to the supply and demand of labour, and the kindred question of population, I am satisfied that in this district there is no scarcity of labour. The few sugar-estates which exist in these mountains have as much labour as they can employ. So far as I have ascertained, the wages are paid the labourers with tolerable regularity, nor have I heard any complaints from those of our people who labour upon them of oppressive treatment. (I have heard of such cases in connection with Stewart Town Society, on the borders of Trelawny). The wages paid are, for ordinary field-labour, 1*s.* a day. I was informed by many witnesses, that some time in the early part of last year, when the price of sugar was very high, and some agitation was going on as to the increase of wages, the manager of one of these mountain estates offered 1*s.* 3*d.* a day, but that the supply on the following week so far exceeded the demand, that he gladly fell back upon the previous price. I presume, however, that a larger amount of labour can be commanded in the mountain than in the lowland districts. Still, I am quite satisfied that those of the estates who treated their labourers kindly and wisely at the time of emancipation, and who continue to treat them not as brutes, but as men, and to deal honestly with them, have small reason to complain either as to the quantity or quality of labour. I did think that the price of labour in a free market would afford a just criterion of the relative position of supply and demand; that if demand was much in advance of supply, wages would be high. Now here it is affirmed that the supply falls far short of the demand, and yet wages continue low—continued low while the price of sugar was high, and the owners of estates had every inducement to increase the products of those estates.

It is affirmed, also, that population, such as it is, is rapidly decreasing. True, that population must have been greatly reduced by cholera and small-pox; but that it is decreasing now, or that it is not increasing, it will take something more than mere assertion to make me believe.

There is abundance of room for increase, thousands of acres of land, still in the primitive forest state, and but requiring the axe and the hoe to make them become abundantly fruitful. Living, though sometimes, doubtless, comparatively difficult, is not by any means encompassed with such difficulties to the labouring population as to present any serious impediment in the way of increase. The women are in general as fruitful as the women of other lands. They, the people, are not being pressed out of existence, as in America, by the encroachments of the white man. They are not liable to the fearfully destructive influences of the savage state. The prevalent immorality of the country (concubinage) is not of a kind to very seriously impede increase. Doubtless fewer children would die if they were better cared for in infancy; but I do not believe that, in this respect, matters are worse than amongst the poor of other lands, where the population continues steadily to increase. No doubt but that population would more rapidly increase, and the social and religious state of the people more rapidly improve, were the habit of early and judicious marriage more prevalent. To promote this end, our Legislature, if truly in earnest to increase population, and to promote their country's real and permanent well-being, might do much. But, unfortunately, the whole course of legislation has had, I fear designedly, an opposite tendency. The whole effort has evidently been to relieve the planters, and to keep the people in a state of dependency. The legal settlement of land is sadly too expensive, sometimes the cost of conveyance almost equalling the cost of purchase. Taxes, too, are heavy, and have been collected in the most vexatious manner. They fall most heavily upon the man who makes the most earnest endeavours at improvement. His land, his donkey, his horse, his cart, his house, all are taxed; and if he build a better house than his neighbours, his taxes are immediately increased. Some alterations for the better have been made since the arrival of Governor Darling; but it remains to be seen to what extent the relief may be real. Still thousands and tens of thousands of pounds are spent, or ready to be spent, upon fruitless schemes of immigration, while nothing can be done in the way of sanitary and other much needed enactments, to improve and increase the population which is already here.

"But, notwithstanding all, I am convinced that population is increasing. Down here, in a valley just below our residence, is a village established, it may be some sixteen or twenty years ago. At that time, as one of our Leaders informed me the other day, the settlers were principally recently-married couples without, or nearly without, families. Now, almost every house has a family of four, six, or eight children; many of whom have also been married, and are now having other families. He assures me that, but for the recollections of personal friends, or members of families, who died of cholera or small-pox, not even the severe losses then sustained would now be appreciable. And this is but a sample of hundreds of other instances.

"The fact of the case seems to be, that there

is a large section of the planting interest which, notwithstanding so many expensive failures, still clings to the expedient of extensive immigration from Africa or the East Indies. It suits the designs of such people to cry down the pre-dial population of this country, to affirm that they will not work, that they are incapable of improvement, that they are going back to barbarism, and are in a fair way to shortly become extinct. That the country itself possesses room enough for a very extensive immigration, were the immigrants suitable, and imported under proper circumstances, there can be no question. I suppose that the present population might be multiplied so as to become fourfold what it is without any material inconvenience, supposing that cultivation of the soil were to be correspondingly extended and improved, as it might be. But that is not the question at issue; that is but employed by some to give the semblance of truth to their assertions or their arguments. The question is, 'Are there now sufficient labourers in the country to supply the present actual demand? Is the demand increasing more rapidly than the supply?' Now, let it be considered that the then population of Jamaica was equal to the demand at the time of emancipation, and that since that time a large number of sugar and coffee properties have been thrown out of cultivation, (and I have not heard of any intended extensive resumption,) and no unprejudiced person will find difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the supply of labour is equal to the present demand. Were it otherwise, wages would infallibly rise. But that for which the cry for immigration is maintained, is not the general good of the country, but the special good of the planters. They may say that that which benefits the planters must benefit the country generally; and this, to a certain extent, would be true; but if wages are to continue low, and the profits of estates are to be abstracted for the benefit of non-resident proprietors, it does not appear that the benefit would be so great as to justify the incurring of a large public debt, and the increase of general taxation for its accomplishment.

"An Immigration Bill has recently been passed through the several branches of our Legislature here, which, if carried into effect, would virtually restore a state of Slavery. Immigrants are to be introduced from whencesoever they can be obtained at the public expense; are to be assigned, with or without their leave, to such owners of estates as may desire them; are to be attached to the soil for a period of five or ten years, and to exchange owners as the estate may change its owners; are to be liable to be apprehended, without warrant, should they be found without a note of leave, anywhere more than a few miles distant from the estate; and any one assisting, sheltering, befriending, or employing such a one is to be liable to a fine of not more than 20*l.*, or, upon non-payment, an equivalent imprisonment. Yet the Bill passed the several branches of the Legislature here without serious discussion, and without any serious condemnatory review by any of the inland newspapers.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1858.

ADDRESS TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

IN our July Number we published the text of an Address, which the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* had recently forwarded to the Emperor of Russia, on the subject of the measure in the course of being carried into effect for the emancipation of the serfs. We have now the pleasure of laying before our readers a translation of the reply to the same, as transmitted to Baron de Brunow, the Russian Ambassador in England, through Prince Gortchacoff, dated St. Petersburg, the 6th (18th) June, 1858.

TRANSLATED COPY.

"According to the intimation conveyed to me in your Excellency's despatches of the 20th June (1st July), No. 122, I have just received through the English Consul-General at St. Petersburg, a letter from Mr. Joseph Sturge, enclosing an Address, which the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* are desirous should be submitted to His Majesty the Emperor.

"I have not failed to place this document before our august Master. His Imperial Majesty appreciates the intention in which it originated, and the sentiments it expresses.

"Your Excellency will please to communicate with Mr. Joseph Sturge to this effect, and request him to inform the Society of which he is a member of the gracious reception which has been accorded to the Address.

"Receive, &c."

PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.

WANT of space has prevented our recording, that on Tuesday, July 7th ultimo, Lord Brougham moved for two important returns, bearing on the questions which have of late occupied so much of the public attention. The first was for returns of the number of immigrants from India and China, who have been introduced into the British East or West-India colonies since 1835; with a statement of the mortality on the passage; the duration of the voyage; of the number who have left each colony to return home; of those who have died there; of those who have become chargeable as paupers or otherwise on the colony; how those that remain are employed; and a statement shewing what proportion of the expenses on immigration account has been paid out of the funds of each colony, and how much out of the Imperial exchequer. The second return

refers to the colony of Sierra Leone, and embraces a statement of the names of the various officers who have been employed in the administration of the affairs of that colony since 1850; setting forth the annual amount of salary and allowances in each case; also whether any one individual holds more than one office, and if so, how many, and what is the amount of salary and allowances appertaining to each. Both these motions were acquiesced in; but, probably owing to the lateness of the hour at which they were made, the subject seems to have escaped the attention of the gentlemen of the press.

THE FRENCH IMMIGRATION SCHEME.

IN answer to several inquiries on this subject, we beg to inform our friends that we did not deem it desirable to publish a detailed statement of the *Regina Cæli* case, as illustrating the true character of the French immigration scheme, until we were in possession of the facts necessary to make out a complete case. The daily press was doing its work in disseminating sufficient information, more or less correct; and we have been doing ours in collating additional evidence, now nearly complete, which we intend shortly to print, in a pamphlet form, for extensive circulation. Our friends may rest assured, that when the time for action arrives, we shall be found duly prepared. Meanwhile, and with a view to correct the erroneous impression which has been created respecting the alleged complicity of the Liberian authorities, in this immigration scheme, to the extent of their having taken a sum of money from the French agent, as a fee for passports, we append a letter which has been addressed to us by Mr. Ralston, acting in London as Consul for the Liberian Republic, rebutting, in the most emphatic manner, the charge brought against it by the French agent, in the despatch from the French Minister of Marine to the Earl of Malmesbury, and read by the latter to the House of Lords, in answer to a question put by Lord Brougham.

We may add, that this contradiction is fully substantiated by other evidence, which we shall produce in its proper place.

“Consulate-General of Liberia, London,
September 7, 1858.

“DEAR SIR,—On the 1st of September inst. I wrote to Mr. Wm. Seymour Fitzgerald, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in reply to his request to send him all the documents I had received from the Government of Liberia in regard to the French emigration system and the *Regina Cæli* case; and I have to state to you, that as soon as I receive back from that gentleman these papers I will submit them to you, and allow copies to be made of the whole or any such parts of them as may be de-

sired by you. My object in sending these papers to the Foreign Office was to prove—1st. There was no complicity between the Liberian authorities and Capt. Simon in furnishing emigrants for the *Regina Cæli*.

“2d. To prove that not a penny of passport duty was received by the Liberian Government for the emigrants on board of the *Regina Cæli*.

“3d. To prove that it has been the policy of the Liberian Government, for several years past, long before the case of the *Regina Cæli*, to discourage emigration from the Republic of Liberia; and in the case of the *Regina Cæli* so many obstacles were thrown in the way, that absolutely all the emigrants on board of that vessel escaped from her, and are now living ashore, free from the slavery they would have been subjected to if they had been carried by that vessel to the Island of Bourbon (Réunion), whither they were bound.

“To prove the first point—no complicity—

“I sent the printed proclamation of the Government of Liberia, dated May 4, 1856, in which it is specially required that vessels engaged in getting emigrants should be compelled to come to Monrovia for the purpose of getting passports, so that special investigation should be had into every individual case, to ascertain whether the emigration be voluntary or constrained; and no passport will be granted to any but the voluntary emigrant, for which fifty cents, or 2s. sterling, would be charged. This proclamation was widely circulated, and was specially communicated to the French Consul at Monrovia, also to the commanders of the French vessels off the coast of Liberia, and also was particularly sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris; so that the French could not by any possibility be ignorant of the strong desire of Liberia to prevent emigration from their territories. This proclamation, issued by President Benson, on the 4th May 1856, is nearly a verbatim copy of the proclamation issued by President Roberts some three or four years before, when the English were desirous of procuring emigrants from Liberia to be conveyed to their colonies. The *English emigration system was not persevered in*. I also sent to the Foreign Office a copy of the letter of the Secretary of State, Mr. Warner, dated Monrovia, August 4, 1857, addressed to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris, in which this emigration is deprecated, and a strong desire is expressed that it should not be persisted in.

“To prove the second point—no passport duty was paid by *Regina Cæli*—

“I sent the letter of President Benson to me, dated Monrovia, July 13, 1858, in which he positively and utterly denies that a penny for passport duty was received for the emigrants on board of the *Regina Cæli*. No passport duty was paid, because, when the *Regina Cæli* was brought into Monrovia as a prize to the English steamer *Ethiophe*, all the passengers escaped to the shore, and left no emigrants for Capt. Simon to demand passports for, and of course he paid no money for this object. The assertion that 1564 piastres was paid for passport duty is entirely denied by President Benson. The only money paid by Capt. Simon to the Liberian Government was between 300 and 400 dollars, being for import

duty on merchandize landed in the Republic, and for tonnage duty on the ship, the same as every regular and honest trading vessel pays on entering the ports of Liberia, and England, and other countries. The only interviews President Benson had with Capt. Simon were on two occasions, when the British Consul was present, and Mr. Benson appeals to him to prove that he did not promise emigrants, nor did he urge and press him to get emigrants in Liberia. This emigration system has always been a most hateful and odious one to both President Benson and to ex-President Roberts.

"In the laws passed by the Legislature, at its session of 1857-58, there is an 'Act regulating the enlistment and transportation of emigrants,' which is every way calculated to obstruct and prevent emigration.

"I hope you, my dear Sir, will give credit to the American Liberians for a most decided hostility to the emigration system, which, as carried out by the French, is no better than slave trade, and also that you are convinced that the Liberian authorities have done all in their power to suppress this abominable traffic.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your's most truly and faithfully,

"GERARD RALSTON.

"To L. Alexis Chamerovzov, Esq.,
Anti-Slavery Society."

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN THE EASTERN SEAS.

WE quote, from *Allen's Indian Mail* of the 19th August, a statement which, if true, would seem to leave no doubt that the slave-trade is carried on openly to Bombay, and to other parts of our East-Indian Empire. We shall institute inquiry as to the correctness of the facts, but we may, in the meanwhile, state, that persons engaging in such traffic are liable to be proceeded against for felony, in virtue of an Act passed in August 1842, specially to cover the trade in slaves in the eastern seas. This was in consequence of doubts having arisen whether the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act (5 Geo. IV. c. 113.) gave power to the authorities in British India for carrying its provisions into effect. It was entitled, *An Act for extending to the Governors and Officers of the East-India Company the powers given by an Act of the fifth year of King George the Fourth to her Majesty's Governors and Officers for the more effectual suppression of the slaves into India by sea* (5 and 6 Vic. cap. c. 1.) There can be no doubt, therefore, that if slaves are now imported into the East Indies there must be great remissness on the part of the authorities to permit them to be landed for the great markets of Bombay, as set forth by the correspondent of the *Bombay Standard*.

We need scarcely observe, that we do not participate in the views advanced by the editor, in his introductory remarks, as to the character of Eastern Slavery; for although

it may be a mild form of the great sin, it is sin nevertheless, and therefore is to be utterly condemned. Nor do we receive with implicit credence the picture presented by the correspondent of the position of the slave "in the habitation of the more advanced Asiatic." Pictures drawn by such hands are usually surcharged with *couleur de rose*.

Extract.

"We subjoin a letter on the slave-trade in the Eastern Seas, by a writer eminently qualified to speak on the subject. The name of slave misleads the European mind as associated exclusively with West-India Slavery. The bondsman in the East is a member of the family, a portion of the establishment; and the denomination of retainer, as understood in feudal times, much more correctly describes his position than the designation he usually receives:—

"Sir,—That slaves are procured from the African coast to supply the great markets of Bombay, Muscat, Bussorah, and generally the shores of Arabia, Hindostan, and the Persian Gulf, is an undoubted fact; but the trade is not carried on by vessels equipped for the sole purpose of conveying that article of merchandise. There may be occasionally a buggalow found with such a number of slaves on board as to lead to a contrary supposition; but, as a rule, the black cargo forms only a portion of that brought away from Africa.

"The native craft which carry on the large and constantly increasing traffic to the African coast, proceed, as you are aware, from various ports on the shores of India, Arabia, and Oman during the prevalence of the N. E. monsoon, and return homewards with the help of the early S. W. monsoon, before the setting in of the stormy season. In fact, at this moment they are covering the Arabian Sea in every direction, and in one day as many as 100 sail have been counted passing up along the Arabian coast. In addition to which they are to be seen making for the various ports from Cape Comorin to Kurrachee—to say nothing of the traffic which passes into the Red Sea.

"On board many, if not most of these vessels, several of which fly the British flag, are to be found slaves—usually boys and girls under the age of puberty, and varying in number from one or two to twenty. Occasionally a speculative nacadah may venture on a greater shipment; but that is an exceptional case. Adults are not often taken; in fact, they are, from their intractability, quite an inferior article not in demand. I have seen the slave-children frequently—and very happy they always appeared to be—content to remain with their kind master (for they are rarely ill-treated), but more gratified with the prospects of being sold into a household through the medium of the slave-market.

"These slave-markets exist in every maritime port on the littoral of the Arabian Sea. They are not necessarily walled inclosures, with an inscription denoting that human flesh is on sale within; but they nevertheless exist. You can in any of these marts buy, by private bargain, a

slave, male or female, and that at a moderate advance on the original cost, taking into consideration the perishable nature of the commodity, and the risks which are attendant on its carriage over sea in native craft.

"Bombay is, or was a few years back (for there has been a break in my personal experience), notably an extensive slave-market. Slaves were, and I have no doubt are at this time, passed from hand to hand, a marketable commodity in this Her Majesty's island of Bombay.

"This assertion may possibly be denied, and you may be furnished with plausible statements and experiences to shew that it is not, and cannot be the case. That the police is too vigilant; that such practices must be brought to light; that it is cheaper and better for the Arab, Persian, and other foreign denizens, to employ hired domestic servants. I content myself with asserting, that the households of these and other classes would tell another tale,—would tell the tale as I have heard it from the lips of Africans who were in their own persons instances in proof. I have also conversed with many manumitted or fugitive negroes from other localities, who have confirmed the truth of the statement that Bombay is not dissimilar in respect to the existence of domestic slavery to other places over sea. It may not, perhaps, be generally known that on each of the steam-ships of the Indian navy a part of the crew consists of men who perform duties similar to those for which Kroomen are employed in H.M.'s cruisers on the Western Coast of Africa. On this side of the continent the greater number of these men are runaways or manumitted slaves. Collectively their number is considerable. Some singular passages have come under my notice in respect to some of these men. I have had them with me when they encountered their ex-masters in places wide apart, such as at Jedda in the Red Sea, Bushire or Bussorah on the Persian Gulf. I have seen them recognise, and be recognised, by their former owners; but in no case have I noticed any thing like angry feeling on his part or exultation on theirs. They talked to each other as former friends, exchanged the salutation of brothers in Islam, and so parted. In truth, the condition of the African in the habitation of the more advanced Asiatic is one of superior comfort or influence to any thing he could hope for in his native country, and any one who has seen the slave in lands where Slavery has been handed down from the patriarchal age as a domestic institution, will agree with me that the 'household bondsman' is not to be considered, and by no means considers himself, an object for commiseration. Who has not heard the indignant answer of men so situated when asked some such question as, 'Who are you; are you a servant?' 'No; God forbid: I am a slave.'—*Bombay Standard*.

LIBERIA AND SLAVERY.

It has been frequently alleged that Slavery exists in the Republic of Liberia; but as it is only right to allow the other side to be heard in self-defence, we republish, from the *Colonization Herald* for May last, a

statement which is entitled to consideration. We are of those who consider the *Colonization Society* to be founded on an erroneous principle; and many highly injudicious articles in its official organ have contributed to bring the Society into odium amongst a large class in this country and in America. Were Liberia still a suckling of that Society, we should take small interest in its prosperity; but as it is quite independent of it, and is also a Sovereign State, whose existence on the coast of Africa is likely to be productive of great benefits to the native population, and whose self-government cannot fail to influence native society there, we take the same interest in it that we should put in the success of any other independent negro State, which had adopted laws and a Constitution, and was endeavouring to regulate its domestic and foreign relations according to the usages of other States of the civilized world.

"Our esteemed friend, Gerárd Ralston, Esq., has kindly sent us from London a copy of *The Leisure Hour* for February 25, 1858, containing an article on Liberia, in which are renewed the charges of Forbes and Nesbit, that Slavery exists in that young Republic. These statements were refuted by the colonization papers at the time of their first appearance, but as they seem not to have met the eyes of Mr. Ralston, the Editor of *The Leisure Hour*, and doubtless others in both countries, we again have thought proper to notice this wholesale slander of the Liberians, and to repel this most artful mode of attack upon that commonwealth.

"Lieutenant Forbes served in the British squadron on the Western Coast of Africa in the years 1849 and 1850. He admits that he never visited Monrovia, and it follows that his accusation must have been made upon the authority of others. These were probably English merchants, whose profits have been lessened by the radical change made by Liberia in the commercial regulations within the territory over which it exercises jurisdiction. Hence many of them have not hesitated to resort to efforts which might succeed in persuading the friends of Africa to withdraw their support and countenance; and thus, if the settlements were destroyed, or their power impaired, the trade of the coast would be restored to its previous condition, and they left in the possession of their former advantages.

"One of the fundamental principles of the Constitution of Liberia as a Colony, afterwards as a Commonwealth, and subsequently as a Republic, was, and now is, uncompromising hostility to the slave-trade, both foreign and domestic. In support of this position, and in reply to the statements to the contrary, we give a few quotations from the abundant resources within our reach.

"The Constitution framed by the American Colonization Society, and by which the colonists were governed from 1825 to 1836, declared—Art. 5. 'There shall be no Slavery in the settlements.' In 1839, a Legislative Council was

created in Liberia, and the Constitution remodelled, so as to read:—Art. 20. 'There shall be no Slavery in the Commonwealth.' Art. 22. 'There shall be no dealing in slaves by any citizen of the Commonwealth, either within or beyond the limits of the same.'

"In 1847, the colony declared itself an Independent Republic, with the following language in its Constitution:—Article 1. Sec. 1. 'All men are born equally free and independent, and among their natural, inherent, and inalienable rights, are the rights of enjoying and defending life and liberty.' Sec. 4. 'There shall be no Slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic.' Sec. 8. 'No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.'

"In the treaty with England, which went into effect April, 1850, Liberia bound itself as follows:—Art. 9. 'Slavery and the slave-trade being perpetually abolished in the Republic of Liberia, the Republic engages that a law should be passed declaring it to be piracy for any *Liberian* citizen or vessel to be engaged or concerned in the slave-trade.'

"Now for the testimony shewing the faithfulness to the spirit and to the letter with which these Articles have been executed. In reply to Lieutenant Forbes, we shall content ourselves with the evidence of two British officers, of superior rank, and who served in the same squadron, about the same period. Having frequently visited the several settlements of Liberia, they had full opportunity for obtaining correct information.

"The first which we shall introduce is Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, Commander-in-Chief of the British naval force on the Western Coast of Africa, than whom no higher or better authority could be demanded. In a letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, published in the Parliamentary Returns, he says: 'This establishment (Liberia) merits all the support we can give it; for it is only through their means that we can hope to improve the African race.' Subsequently, the same officer gave his testimony before the House of Lords, in the following language: 'There is no necessity for the squadron watching the coast between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas, as the Liberian territory intervenes, and there the slave-trade has been extinguished.' Capt. Hugh Dunlop, R.N., in a letter in which he eulogises the new Republic and its President, declares, 'I am perfectly satisfied no such thing as domestic slavery exists, in any shape, amongst the citizens of the Republic.'

"The American falsifier of the people of Liberia sailed for Africa, November 1853. He was on and about the coast nearly four months. Several of his baseless assertions respecting that Republic have been replied to by various persons, and, among others, by two clergymen, who have subsequently written and published their experience in Liberia. One of these, the Rev. Samuel Williams, a coloured man, who largely enjoys the confidence of all who know him, and who was the originator and leader of the party of emi-

grants from this State, of which Mr. Nesbit was a member, remarks, in his volume entitled *Four Years in Liberia*, 'He (Nesbit) says that we have Slavery in Liberia. Now I do most solemnly declare that Nesbit lied in making this assertion. On the contrary, our laws make it a criminal act to receive a native in any way that he may be held as a slave. The Liberians cannot receive them as apprentices, unless they take them before the proper court, and are bound as such; and every one, as soon he or she is of man's or woman's age, can leave at will, and go where they please.'

"The Rev. George Thompson, a white member of Mendi (Abolition) Mission, and who passed several months in Liberia, thus replies in his recent book to this feature of Mr. Nesbit's report:—'I can only say, *there is no foundation for such a libel to rest upon Liberia. SLAVERY is not there, nor can it be there*, with their present Constitution and laws, and I have reason to know that these laws are enforced. The native chiefs who live within and under the colony have their slaves, as before; but if they run away, they cannot regain them. *There is no Fugitive Law there. The law is right.* There are wicked men there who would, if they could, hold slaves, but they cannot, under the present laws. And I have reason to know that the President and many of the most influential men of Liberia are right on the subject of Slavery.'

"Shortly after the appearance of Nesbit's volume, a communication appeared in the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, papers, written by a coloured man of that place named Thomas M. Chester, who resided in Liberia five times as long as Nesbit did, and who, having read the 'unvarnished truths,' denies that they are truths at all. Mr. Chester states: '*I unhesitatingly pronounce the book a palpable falsehood, with but very few exceptions, unworthy the table of any house, unless to shew the baseness and ingratitude of the author.* I am ready to confront any candid man, even the author himself, and prove that a fouler slander never was put upon Liberia. I was in Liberia previous to his coming there, and some months after his departure, but I have never seen the dishonesty of the Government, the poverty of the people, the inhuman treatment towards the natives, and the enslavement of the Africans, which state of things, he says, really exists there, open and undisguised; nor did he see them.'

"Were it deemed necessary, we might enlarge, by introducing, to almost any amount, oral and written testimony, from men of the highest respectability and the amplest means, from personal observation, for obtaining and communicating correct information respecting the condition of Liberia. The foregoing testimony, from disinterested persons, who are in no way connected with the Colonization Society, or with the Liberian Republic (except Mr. Williams, who is a resident Missionary in that country), agrees with the uniform tidings that have reached the writer during his twenty years' service in the cause of Africa, that the charge of *slaveholding* in Liberia 'or any thing approximating to it, is not only utterly false, but there is not the slightest foundation for it.'

"It is an encouraging fact, that each of the commanding-officers of the united squadrons on the coast of Africa have spoken favourably of Liberia. All of these, with but one exception, have been Northern men, or residents of the Northern States. Surely, if the 'peculiar institution' existed in Liberia, some of them would have made the case known. But not one of them has uttered any such report, simply because SLAVERY IS NOT LEGALIZED BY THE LIBERIANS, NEITHER DOES IT EXIST AMONG THEM IN ANY SHAPE OR FORM."

"No more authentic information can be required of the condition and advancement of the Liberian settlements in agriculture, commerce, and all the pursuits of lawful industry and habits of social order, than is contained in a communication from Commodore Crabbe, lately in command of the African squadron, in which he says, 'The city of Monrovia, which I have visited, shews signs of energy and civilization, which certainly were not to be expected in such a climate. The commerce of the place appears to be gradually increasing, and from what I hear of the agricultural improvements in the interior, I should judge that the inhabitants were making considerable and steady progress, while, from the satisfied appearance of the people of the town generally, I have no doubt but that they must be prosperous and happy.'

"We trust," to quote the language of *The Leisure Hour*, 'that a more minute acquaintance with the facts of the case will prove that misapprehensions have existed.' We have endeavoured to place unimpeachable testimony within its reach, which is sufficient, we believe, to stamp the charges of Forbes and Nesbit as infamously false."

NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE SLAVE LAW.

It has been truly remarked by, we believe, Judge Ruskin, of the United States, that the laws in the Southern States are framed so as to give to the slaveowner the greatest possible power over his human chattels; or, in other words, that they are entirely in favour of the so-called rights of the master. It used to be the boast of the Southerners, that on all questions which came before the courts involving a claim to freedom, their leaning was always decidedly in that direction. It was in part assumed by the Judges, as it was by the framers of the Federal Constitution, that the public policy of the Southern States favoured emancipation, and that they were doing an acceptable service in forwarding, so far as they could, every individual claim to it. Such is the spirit which breathes through all the earlier reported cases in Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and even Louisiana. Of late years, however, not only has this view of the matter been abandoned, but the courts have passed over to the other extreme. The idea first broached and acted

upon by the Supreme Court of Mississippi, that the policy of the South is hostile to emancipation, now appears to have obtained possession of the Bench in the Slave States.

We may quote, in illustration, a remarkable instance of this fact, as exhibited by the Virginian Court of Appeal in a recent decision of theirs in two cases—*Bailey et al. vs. Poindexter's executors* and *Howle et al. vs. Towne*—involving the construction of certain clauses in the Will of one John L. Poindexter. This Will gave to certain negroes the choice, after the death of the testator's wife, of being hired out till money enough was raised "to defray their expenses to a land where they would enjoy freedom," which, by the existing law, they could not do in Virginia; or if, for the sake of remaining in the State, they preferred Slavery, then they should be sold at auction, the money to go to certain of the testator's relations.

Of course the negroes preferred to be emancipated; but as this did not suit the provisional legatees, they set up the doctrine that the offer made by the Will to the negroes of emancipation at their own option was void, since being slaves they had no legal capacity to make any election in the matter. The Court below decided in favour of the negroes; but the case having been carried to the Court of Appeal, that tribunal held that as slaves they were not able to elect to be free, and that therefore the Will of their late owner in their favour was to go for nothing.

The *New-York Tribune* comments as follows on this judgment:

"We have little doubt that before long these Southern Courts will go one step further, and will hold that an absolute devise of freedom, and of money along with it to carry the emancipated slave out of the State, is void, for want of any legal capacity in the slave to assent to or accept this or any other donation. Considered as merely a temporary expedient, the objections to Slavery are sufficiently strong. When it comes to be looked at as a perpetual institution, like marriage or the family relations, the objections to any further extension of it, and the inducements to get rid of it where it now exists—in such a State, for instance, as Missouri—are multiplied tenfold."

COTTON FROM AFRICA.

WE have, on several occasions, called attention to the progress of the enterprise which is being carried on at Abbeokuta and other places on the West Coast of Africa, to develop the resources of the country, especially of cotton, and we have also laid stress upon the fact of this movement having been originated by Mr. Thomas Clegg of Manchester. In a recent Number we published a Circular which Mr. Clegg had addressed to the native chiefs on the coast, inviting them to bring

their raw cotton and indigenous products in exchange for British goods. The results of the new enterprise have been highly encouraging; but as the effect of legitimate trading and increased native industry is to render a man more valuable as a labourer than as an article of merchandize, the slave-traders find their nefarious commerce most seriously interrupted, and they are in consequence making efforts to destroy the credit of those who are interested in the new enterprise. Under these circumstances, Mr. Clegg has deemed it advisable to publish another Circular, with a view to counteract the evil effects such statements are likely to produce, and we reproduce it, in the hope that it may meet the eye of many who may not see the original:

"Manchester, July 22, 1858.

"All sorts of slanderous and injurious reports having been circulated in Africa, by the slave-trading interest, and those desirous to crush the rising trade in cotton, it is considered desirable to print the following certificate, which has been given to myself and Mr. Venn.

"THOS. CLEGG."

(Copy) "19, Clifford Street, Bond Street,
July 20, 1858.

"MY DEAR SIR,—After a careful examination of the samples of blue and of grey cotton goods, given to me by the cotton shippers of Abbeokuta to bring to England, with the patterns sent by them to Mr. Clegg, and by which he executed their orders, they have evidently only themselves to blame for the inferior qualities of goods sent to them, and of which they complain so loudly, as the goods they received are strictly agreeably to the patterns sent by them through Mr. Robbin.

"By the next packet I shall write to Atambala and the other complaining parties, and inform them they have no grounds for complaining against Mr. Clegg; and that, if they wish, the returns for their shipments of cotton should be sent to them in Manchester goods, they must be content to receive them of such quality and price as will cause them no disappointment, and their agent no unpleasant consequences.

"Faithfully yours,

(Signed) "B. CAMPBELL.

"Charles Leigh Clare, Esq.,
(Son-in-law and Partner of Mr. Clegg.)"

NATIVE AFRICAN ASSOCIATION.

IN submitting the subjoined announcement, from the columns of the *Colonial Intelligencer*, the official organ of the *Aborigines' Protection Society*, we have only to add that we wish the project a speedy fulfilment and a happy result.

"In the course of the last month or six weeks several native merchants and other Africans from the West Coast have been staying in London, and it is understood that many young persons from that part of the world have been sent to England for education. It is impossible not to hail both of these facts as gratifying indications of the de-

sire on the part of the natives of Africa to raise themselves by their own praiseworthy exertions amongst the civilized nations of the earth.

"A few days ago some of the more influential African gentlemen still remaining in London were invited to meet for the purpose of considering whether an Association of their own class might not, with much advantage, be formed, and, having its centre of organization in London, be made the means of greatly facilitating any well-devised measures for the promotion of that self-effected advancement which they have at heart, and which the true friends of Africa in this country have long desired to encourage and assist. Such an association of enlightened Africans would in some respects resemble the well-known associations of the citizens of the United States, inasmuch as they might have a day for annual social meeting when they happen to be together in England, at the stated period, from various parts of the African continent. Not only might mutual relations and friendships be formed and strengthened, but an important exhibition in favour of Africa would be made before the civilized world.

"The chief benefit of such an association might, however, be of a much more enduring and important character. The nucleus of the association should have some local habitation, and exist permanently, so as to be able, in the intervals between the annual meetings, and at all times, to receive well-introduced Africans from any part of the continent, and to assist them with information and advice whenever, as strangers, they may be liable to fail or be imposed upon in their pursuits, through the want of such help. Through the co-operation of the *Aborigines' Protection Society*, or of some similar influence, cases of real grievance might be enabled to obtain timely redress, whilst, in other cases, in which the subject of complaint may have been misapprehended, satisfactory explanation might be at once advantageous to the African and the European.

"The suggestion was most favourably received, and the small preliminary meeting separated with the resolution to promote the design, both in England and on the continent of Africa. The project has our cordial good wishes, and we trust that it may be pushed to prompt and satisfactory operation."

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

LEEDS YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

WE have received, and have perused with much pleasure, the first Report of the above-named Society, the establishment of which, we believe, is due to the excellent example set by the *Amsterdam Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society*, founded some five years ago by J. F. P. Moquette, then a lad of fifteen. The report does not state the circumstances under which the Society was established, though it would have been interesting to be informed what led the founder to project it. In the case of the *Amsterdam Young Men's Society*, it was the impression produced on

the mind of M. Moquette, by reading a translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Whatever the circumstances, however, we hail the establishment of the *Leeds Young Men's Society* as of good augury, while the example is likely to be productive of excellent results, in inducing the institution of similar Associations on the same basis.

The following is an abstract from the first Annual Report :

"Your Committee now proceed to enumerate the steps which they have felt it incumbent upon them to take during their tenure of office. When the Society was formed, it was resolved that, as one means of disseminating Anti-Slavery information, a series of lectures should be delivered. This was done, and the success which has attended them has demonstrated the propriety of the course adopted.

"A resolution prohibiting the discussion of Slavery having received the assent of the *New-York Young Men's Christian Association*, your Committee, convinced that a decided expression of sympathy from the young men of Leeds would have the effect of encouraging and inspiring the minority who opposed it, deemed it advisable to hold a conference of young men, in order that the right and wrong of the question might be thoroughly sifted. The result was highly gratifying, and shewed, by the all but unanimous verdict of the young men assembled, that your Committee had not calculated in vain upon the hearty detestation of all shuffling compromises, which is characteristic of every true-born Englishman.

"In the month of June last an Appeal was sent from this Society to the *Wesleyan Conference* at Liverpool, requesting that Bishop Simpson and Dr. M'Clintock, representatives of the *Northern Methodist Episcopal Church of America*, should not be received by the Conference, because of the one thousand slaveholding members of their Church. Your Committee were impelled to the sending of this Appeal by a strong feeling of duty ; and although it did not succeed, they feel satisfied that the sending of it was the only course which they could, with any regard to consistency, have adopted.

* * * * *

"The Committee have pleasure in recording the formation of the *King Stanley Anti-Slavery Society*, of which the *Leeds Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society* was the prototype. The Secretaries are also in correspondence with several gentlemen, with a view to the formation of Societies in other towns.

* * * * *

"The Hon. Secretaries have much pleasure in announcing that arrangements are being made with several ministers, of various denominations, and other gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood of Leeds, for a course of Lectures, to be delivered before the members during next winter ; and steps are also being taken to furnish every householder in the town with evidence that Slavery is a sin, and ought not to be tolerated. The Hon. Secretaries would also earnestly invite the young men of Leeds to join their ranks, and attend the Lectures."

DUNDEE LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

THE Sixth Annual Report of this Society is before us. It speaks more despairingly, we believe, than the circumstances warrant, of the progress of the cause during the past year, though the Committee express themselves as being in no doubt "with regard to its future prospects." They present the subjoined outline of their objects and proceedings :

"The Dundee Anti-Slavery Society have had three objects principally in view this past year : first, to assist those papers and Associations that are struggling to enlighten the American mind on the subject of its greatest national delinquency ; secondly, to assist those Societies that aid the fugitives in their escape ; thirdly, to aid, especially in the outset, those that have arrived in Canada, so far as their moral and Christian welfare is concerned, leaving them very much to their own resources and industry to push their way otherwise.

"The case of Cornelia Williams, towards whose ransom a small contribution has been given, is that of an interesting and superior slave girl, whose mother and relations have reached a state of freedom, while she is left helpless behind. Mrs. A. H. Richardson, of Newcastle, and other philanthropists of the Society of Friends, who have informed themselves of the whole of the circumstances of this affecting case, which are too numerous to detail in a report, have taken a deep interest in the matter, and will, no doubt, through the co-operation of friends in America, see it brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

"The Society have during the year given grants of 5*l.* to each of the following Societies and objects : the *New-York Vigilance Committee* ; the *Philadelphia Vigilance Committee* ; the *Rochester Anti-Slavery Society* ; *Frederick Douglass' Paper* ; *New American Abolition Society* ; *Toronto Anti-Slavery Society*, for Buxton Settlement ; *Cornelia Williams's Ransom Fund* ; also, 10*l.* to the sufferers in Kansas ; and 1*l.* to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. And of the Funds at present at the disposal of the Society, it is purposed to make a similar disbursement, omitting the Ransom Fund and the Kansas Fund, which will leave a balance to the credit of the Society, deducting incidental expenses, of 19*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*

BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGROES' FRIEND SOCIETY.

The following has been communicated :

"The August meeting of the *Birmingham Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society*, held last week, was well attended. Slavery, involving as it does the interests of every quarter on our globe, and militating as it does against every blessing and every benefit designed by God for all conditions of men, gives an importance to every subject connected with it. The *Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society* are anxious to diffuse information on this gigantic evil, and presented to the Meeting correspondence from the West Indies, United States, and the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, who has lately paid a visit to Holland, and held satisfactory conferences with persons in authority, on the Dutch emancipation measure ; and thence

proceeded to Paris, to obtain information on the French scheme of immigration, virtually a slave-trade. Among other documents, the following extract was read from a letter of the Rev. John Clark, of Brown's Town, Jamaica, to Mr. Joseph Sturge, dated July 24th, 1858:

"You would learn by the papers sent you by the last packet that the Governor is making arrangements for the introduction of a large number of Chinese and Coolies under the Bill of 1851-1852, which Bill is in many respects as objectionable as that which was disallowed. I do not know whether anything can be done to prevent the importation. The Government at home might, I think, be called upon to make inquiries as to what became of former importations before it sanctions others. The return of the Agent-General of Immigration shews that half of the first importation of Coolies died in less than five years. The system ought to be stopped altogether. It does no good to the planter: they themselves acknowledge that it has hitherto proved a failure; while it proves an excuse to the French and Spaniards to carry out their murderous systems, and makes us appear hypocritical in our professions to all the nations of the earth."

"A committee was appointed to gain attention to a pamphlet lately published, entitled 'How to Abolish Slavery in America, and to Prevent a Cotton Famine in England, with Remarks upon Coolie and African Emigration.'

"The writer was once a slave-driver in a Southern plantation, is a native of this country, but finding, as he said, that Religion and Slavery would not work together, gave up a lucrative situation, and is now engaged at Tunis in growing cotton for Mr. Thomas Clegg, of Manchester, who has established an extensive connection on the African coast, in the exchange of the manufactures of this country for the cotton grown by the chiefs."

EDINBURGH LADIES EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

The report of this Society for the current year presents an able summary of the leading events which have taken place in this country and in America, in relation to the Anti-Slavery movement; and we would recommend it for attentive perusal, which it will abundantly repay.

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

A KENTUCKY ANECDOTE.—A Southern gentleman owned a slave, a very intelligent fellow, who was a Universalist. On one occasion he illustrated the intellectual character of his religion in the following manner:—A certain slave had obtained a license of the Baptists to preach. He was holding forth in the presence of many of his coloured brethren at one time, when he undertook to describe the process of Adam's creation. Said he, "When God made Adam, he stoop down, scrape up a little dirt, wet it a little, warm it a little in de hands, and squeeze in de right shape, and den lean it up against de fence to dry"—"Top dar!" said our Universalist darkey; "you say dat ar de fustest man eber made?" "Sartin!" said the preacher. "Den," said the other, "Jes tell a feller whar dat ar

fence come from!" "Hush!" said the preacher; "two more questions like dat would spile all de Feology in de world."

THE REV. DR. CHEEVER ON SLAVERY.—The Rev. Dr. Cheever, of New York, says, in the *Independent*—"Side by side with the wondrous revival of religion now going forward in our country, there is progressing a revival of the most damning and atrocious wickedness that ever was endured in any Christian or civilized society." Then he denounces the revival of the crime of "national man stealing," the probable success of the Government measure as to Kansas, and the natural operation of the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott, in terms of execration and anguish. He fears that even the religious revival is favouring the success of the slaveowners, by withdrawing from their proceedings the attention of the better part of the nation; and he maintains that no State in the Union is secure against Slavery being forced upon it by the triumphant South. In despairing tones he calls upon the Christians of America to rid themselves of the accursed thing; but he fears that pecuniary interest will obtain the victory over religious reason and humanity. We can assure the Christians of the United States that all England sympathises in the views of Dr. Cheever. The revival of the slave-trade and slavery appears to Englishmen purely horrible. The religious revival, which would have been hailed with joy by English Christians, will be looked upon with doubt and jealousy when announced in combination with man-stealing, oppression, and trampling on the rights of humanity. It will be mockery with many, and will be sneered at as mere hypocrisy by the enemies of religion. Fearful is the responsibility of the nation which gives such occasion to the adversaries of Christianity. If religion have indeed revived in the United States, as we believe it has, let it bring forth the fruits of righteousness, justice and charity; let it break the arms of the oppressor, so that the oppressed may go free.—From the *United Methodist Free Churches' Magazine*, for May 1858.

Advertisements.

HALIFAX LADIES' EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

THE *Halifax Ladies' Emancipation Society* propose to have an Exhibition and Sale of Fancy Goods, in aid of the *Rochester Anti-Slavery Society*, on Wednesday, 20th October, at the Mechanics' Institution, Halifax. Contributions will be gladly received from any friends of the cause, and may be sent to the care of Mrs. Hargreaves, Lord Street, Halifax; or to Mrs. R. L. Carpenter, Milton Place, Halifax.

Any thing that remains unsold, after the Exhibition at Halifax, will be forwarded to Dublin, in time for the Bazaar, to be held there in November, in aid of the same object; and again, the remainder from this Bazaar will be sent on to Rochester, in time for the Annual Anti-Slavery Bazaar held in that city. It may be desirable to state, that the

Rochester Ladies' Society will continue to hold their Bazaar, as on previous years. The sales at Halifax and Dublin are in aid of, not instead of, that at Rochester. The money raised by these Bazaars will, as usual, be devoted to the support of F. Douglass' Anti-Slavery papers, and to helping fugitives from Slavery on their way to Canada.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER.

The following Circular is extracted from a late Number of this Paper.

FOR reasons which seem good and sufficient, and which, it is earnestly hoped, will meet the cordial approbation of the trans-Atlantic friends and subscribers to Frederick Douglass' weekly newspaper, the undersigned has ventured to arrange for the publication of a monthly Anti-Slavery periodical, designed especially for European circulation.

The first number of the forthcoming journal will be published for the month of June 1859, and will be sent to all the British subscribers, in lieu of the weekly which they now receive. It is not the purpose to discontinue the weekly for America. It has here a peculiar mission, and will be continued as hitherto. It looks to the low estate of the people, in whose behalf it pleads, and must measureably accommodate itself to the plain of intelligence which they occupy. It is easy to see that such a paper must contain much that is proper and interesting at home, which cannot be very interesting to friends and readers abroad. It is enough to bring to the attention of trans-Atlantic readers the more important facts, events, and discussions connected with the Anti-Slavery movement: these are about as much as they have time and opportunity to investigate and make themselves familiar with.

The proposed periodical will furnish all that is needed to enable the friends of the slave in other countries to form an intelligent opinion on all important matters connected with the great struggle now in progress for the liberation of the slaves in the United States, while it will exclude advertisements, foreign news, and other matters of purely local interest, which cannot well be excluded from the weekly paper for home circulation.

The publication now proposed, while it will be better suited to the wants of trans-Atlantic readers and friends, can be afforded at a saving both to the subscriber and to the publisher. Many who now take the weekly paper, do so partly with a view to help to sustain the paper, and help the publisher in the prosecution of what they deem a laudable effort to lift up an oppressed and enslaved people.

The cost of the weekly paper to British subscribers is 14s. 4d. They pay directly to the publisher 10s. for postage, one year, 4s. 4d. Out of the 10s. received by the publisher, he has to pay for postage on this side the Atlantic, 4s. 4d.;—so that all he gets for fifty-two numbers of his paper is 5s. 6d.

The proposed monthly journal, while it will be printed on better paper than the weekly, will be considerably larger, and contain all the im-

portant reading matter which is contained in the weekly, will cost subscribers less than one half the sum they now pay for the weekly paper.

The price of the monthly will be 5s.; the postage paid in Great Britain by a subscriber, 1s.: whole cost to a subscriber, *six shillings*. On this side the Atlantic the publisher pays for postage 1s. a year for each paper sent to England; and thus has 4s. clear for his paper, which will pay him better for his monthly than he is now paid for his weekly.

But the most important consideration in favour of the change which we are to make is, that the circulation of Anti-Slavery facts may be greatly enlarged in Great Britain. No people on the globe have a better right to look into the subject of American Slavery than the people of England. Their history, language, intimate relationship, literature, and religion, make them, for all the purposes of our improvement and elevation, a part of the American people. And no people have a better right than they to speak of the stupendous wrong of American Slavery, and to labour for its abolition. Having emancipated their own slaves, after long years of patient and earnest effort, and an immense outlay of treasure, the people of England have well earned the right to make their opinions known and felt on this subject in every part of the world, and especially in America, where it is often charged that Englishmen originated the evil.

The price of the monthly is so moderate, that almost all persons feeling an interest in the cause of the American slave can subscribe for it, and thus, while they keep themselves informed as to what is being done for the abolition of Slavery, contribute something thereby to support the efforts making to that end.

The undersigned gratefully acknowledges the assistance and encouragement which he has from time to time received from the friends of the slave in Great Britain, and especially for the means of commencing and continuing the publication of his weekly paper. He is happy to be assured, that those who have stood by him for the last ten years, ask no release from further co-operation.

Now, if these faithful friends will, upon receiving the first number of the proposed monthly, each in his or her circle of friends endeavour to procure a few subscribers, they will greatly enlarge the interest already felt in the cause of emancipation, and render a service to the undersigned in enabling him to continue his home journal.

The new Anti-Slavery Societies formed in different parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, in response to the earnest appeals of Miss Griffiths, might take up the work of circulating the monthly journal.

The publication of the proposed monthly will require a larger and better assortment of printing material than we now have on hand. The monthly being larger than the weekly, it will be necessary almost to double our present quantity of type. To do this will involve a considerable expense; and hard as this is, at this time of general stagnation in business, he believes that the increase of circulation which will be gained by the monthly will soon cover that expense.

In conclusion, it gives us sincere pleasure to

express our warm gratitude to our British Anti-Slavery friends, for the countenance, aid, and support which they have been pleased, through our humble instrumentality, to render the cause of emancipation in this country.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Rochester, May 21, 1858.

The following gentlemen will receive names and subscriptions for the proposed paper :

London—Mr. L. A. Camerovzow, Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, E.C.

Dublin—Mr. William Webb, 52, High Street, and 8, Dunville Avenue, Rathmines.

Derby—Dr. Spencer T. Hall, Burton Road.

Glasgow—Mr. John Smith, 173, Trongate.

Halifax—Rev. R. L. Carpenter, Milton Place.

Leeds—Mr. Arthur Holland, 4, Park Row.

Newcastle-on-Tyne—Mr. Walter S. Pringle.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY
IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

June 21st, 1858.

THE friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause who have for so many years aided the *Boston Bazaar* are probably already informed of the highly satisfactory results of last year's effort. Mrs. Chapman, in her official Report, says:—

"Financially speaking, this year's effort has resulted in complete success. The same stress of the times that lessened the receipts removing in much greater proportion the obstacles, it has been, all things considered, far more practically and impressively successful than the effort of the preceding year.

"We have this year raised the sum of nearly 4000 dollars, at a moment of general bankruptcy and complete commercial prostration, for an object against which Church, State, and individual interests are yet arrayed."

It is now necessary for the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society in this country, to consider how they can effectually continue to aid its important operations. A change is proposed by our American friends in the method of contributing to the funds of this Society. Owing to various circumstances, it has seemed to some of the most earnest workers, that the time has come to discontinue the instrumentality of the Bazaar at Boston. They think that the labour expended in maintaining the Bazaar might be spent to greater advantage in advocating the cause directly; and that much loss might be spared if aid was sent directly in the form of money, rather than of goods, as the latter entail considerable expense in transmission, duties, advertisements, &c. They think there is now an opening for raising money contributions in their own country, and that to keep up the agitation which would employ this opening, while at the same time propelling the great cause of the slave, would be a better investment of their strength and energy than keeping open the Bazaar.

We give the following extracts from the Circular just put forth by the committee of Boston Ladies who have heretofore conducted the Annual Bazaar:—

"At the beginning, before the principles of the cause were understood, we could not, with the slightest hope of success, ask of the public, whose affair it is no less than our own, direct contributions of money. We therefore devised an Annual Bazaar for the sale of contributions of articles; and it afforded an opportunity of great usefulness, both financial and social, to the cause.

"But the changed state of the public mind now suggests greater directness in the method and increase in the usefulness of this anniversary; and we propose, this year, to give our usual sums and take up our accustomed collections by direct cash subscription; and we entreat the friends, both at home and abroad, who have been wont to co-operate with us, to do the same, nothing doubting the result will much exceed the sum raised last year.

"The money we have annually raised has been hitherto employed to sustain the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society. But, following the recent indication of the executive committee, in making individual efforts to place that paper on a self-supporting subscription basis, we shall enable them to devote the result of our joint financial effort to sustain eloquent and faithful lecturers, now so much needed, and in far greater numbers than heretofore.

"By this plan we may accomplish double the amount of service to our cause, and thus furnish its friends and our own with a twofold motive to continue and increase their contributions."

Our Boston friends have therefore concluded to hold no Bazaar this year; having being further induced to adopt this decision from the financial crisis of last year, which closed the market for the sale of many of the English contributions.

Relying on the judgment, and being anxious, as far as possible, to strengthen the hands of these earnest workers, who are bearing the burden and heat of the day, their friends in Great Britain and Ireland are desirous of helping them in the way they point out, and would suggest that all who have so liberally co-operated with them in former times should for this year endeavour to raise contributions in money. If each friend will give the sum heretofore expended in materials, and endeavour to collect a little in addition, the amount shall be gratefully received and punctually transmitted; and there is every assurance that it will be faithfully applied to promote the same objects as those to which the proceeds of the Bazaar were devoted.

However, as there are many friends of the Anti-Slavery cause to whom it is more convenient to contribute of the work of their hands, whose offerings in past times have been very precious, and who could not in any other way give their valued assistance, we are glad to inform them that there is still an opportunity of doing so very efficiently, by contributing to the Annual Bazaar at Philadelphia, where there are tried and earnest friends constantly working for the slave, whose aims are precisely those of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to which their society is auxiliary, and who assure us that contributions from Britain will be gratefully received, and sold to the best advantage for the good of the cause.

It is therefore earnestly requested that none will withhold their aid in support of those who are confessedly the leaders of the warfare; now is the time, when movements are making even in the Slave States to rid the nation of the sin of Slavery, and when a crisis may be at hand in which the labours of the abolitionists, supported by their British friends, may be among the instrumentalities used to accomplish the great work of emancipation.

Contributions for the Boston Fund will be received by the following ladies. To them, also, communications may be made respecting goods destined for Philadelphia; which should be dispatched to the collectors not later than the 1st of October:

Bath	Mrs. Hayes, 3, Marlborough-buildings.
"	Mrs. Cotteral.
Belfast.....	Miss Ireland, Royal Institution
Birkenhead.....	Mrs. O'Brien
Birmingham	Mrs. Harry Hunt, Edgbaston
Bolton, Lancashire,	Miss Abbott
Bradford, Yorkshire	Mrs. T. F. Bird, 3, Hustlers' terrace
Bristol	Mrs. H. Thomas, 2, George-street
Cheltenham	Mrs. Furber
Cork	Mrs. Dowden Allman
Crewe	Mrs. N. Worsdell
Derby	Miss Hutton
Dublin	Mrs. Edmundson, 35, Capel-street
"	" The Misses Haughton, 35, Eccles-street
"	" Mrs. Thomas Hutton, 118, Summers-hill
"	" The Misses Lloyd, Bray
"	" Miss Townsend, Flower Grove, Rochestown Avenue, Dalkey *
"	" Mrs. Webb, 176, Gt. Brunswick-street
Edinburgh	Mrs. J. Wigham, 5, Gray-street
"	" Miss M'Laren, Newington House
"	" Mrs. Alexander, 4, St. Vincent-street
"	" Mrs. Berry, Rosefield Cottage, Portobello
Evesham	The Misses Davis
Glasgow	Miss C. Paton
"	" Mrs. W. Smeal
Hull	Mrs. Seaton, 30, Whitefriar-gate
Isle of Wight	Mrs. Kell
Kidderminster	Miss Talbot
Leeds	Mrs. Armistead
"	" Mrs. J. Lupton, 1, Blenheim-terrace
Liverpool	Mrs. Banks, Myrtle-street
"	" Mrs. Powell, 113, Field-st.
London	Mrs. Steinthal, 9, Rodney-street
"	" Mrs. Reid, 21, York-terrace, Regent's Park

Leigh, Lancashire ...	Miss Anne Fletcher
Maidstone, Kent ...	Mrs. Woodward
Manchester	Miss Whitelegge, 77, Chat-ham-street.
Newcastle-on-Tyne .	Mrs. John Mawson
"	" Mrs. J. Drewry
Northfleet, Gravesend	Miss Esther Sturge
Nottingham	Mrs. W. Enfield
"	" Mrs. Booth Eddison
"	" Mrs. Turner, Lentonfield
Oxford	Mrs. Hemmings
Perth	Miss Grant
"	" The Misses Morton
Pontypool	Mrs. Davies
Preston, Lancashire,	Mrs. Elizabeth Abbott
Reading	Mrs. J. Huntly
"	" Mrs. Palmer, Wilberforce-place
Redruth, Cornwall .	Mrs. Bellows
Sheffield	The Misses Milner
Southampton	Mrs. Harman and Mrs. Clark
Waterford	Miss Waring

DONATION AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following sums since the publication of our last list :

	Donations.		Ann. Sub.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Anonymous, London . . .	0	5 0		
Barclay, J. G., ditto, . . .	50	0 0		
Bell, J., London . . .			4	2 0
Bell, S. S. & E., Alton . . .			1	0 0
Birmingham, Wednesbury, &c., and Ladies' Negro's Friend Society . . .	20	0 0		
Binns, Thomas, Tottenham, Brighton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association . . .	2	0 0	1	1 0
Brown, Henry, Youghal . . .			0	2 6
Chelmsford, Ladies' Negro Friend Society . . .	2	0 0		
Cross, Martha, Colchester, Doyle, James, Downham . . .			0	10 0
Evesham Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society . . .	1	0 0		
Fisher, Abraham, Youghal, Fisher, Peter M., ditto . . .			0	5 0
Fox, Samuel, Nottingham, 10 . . .			0	5 6
Gray, J., Youghal . . .			0	2 6
Haek, D. P., Brighton . . .	2	0 0		
Harris, F. W., London . . .			1	1 0
Harvey, Thomas, Youghal, Hunt, Henry, Bristol (2 yrs.) . . .			0	5 0
Jones, Rev. J., Lewisham . . .	5	0	2	0 0
Knight, Henry, Swansea . . .			0	10 0
Laishley, George, Hampstead . . .			1	0 0
Lefroy, Mr. (Executors of) Basingstoke . . .	98	11 0		
Palmer, George, Reading . . .	2	0 0		
Pease, Thomas, Bristol . . .	0	10 0	0	10 0
Sterry, R., London . . .			4	4 0
Sterry, J., ditto . . .			1	1 0
Tatham, Mary Ann, Headingley . . .	1	0 0		
Tregelles, N., London . . .			1	0 0